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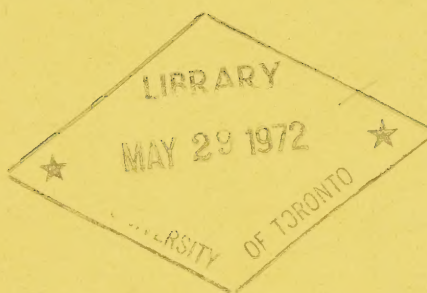
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INDIAN DEVELOPMENT STUDY IN NORTHWESTERN ONTARIO

General publication 30

THE ROUND LAKE OJIBWA
The People, The Land, The Resources
1968-1970



Department of Lands and Forests

Hon. Rene Brunelle
Minister

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Deputy Minister

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8

INDIAN DEVELOPMENT STUDY IN NORTHWESTERN ONTARIO

THE ROUND LAKE OJIBWA
The People, The Land, The Resources
1968-1970

Prepared for A.R.D.A.
A.R.D.A. Project 25075



ONTARIO

Department of Lands and Forests

Hon. Rene Brunelle
Minister

W.Q. Macnee
Deputy Minister

December, 1971

PREFACE

In April 1968 the provincial and federal directorate of A.R.D.A. approved a proposal for a regional economic study in Northwestern Ontario. The study was to be the basis for a long range comprehensive development program for the region.

There are two independent parts to this study. One section, carried out by the Regional Development Branch of the Department of Treasury and Economics, surveyed the economic base of the Northwestern Ontario Development Region. The second section, undertaken by personnel of the Department of Lands and Forests and the Royal Ontario Museum, was a study of the people and resources of an isolated Indian community 200 miles north of Sioux Lookout. It is with this latter study that this report is concerned.

Living conditions in Indian settlements in the Patricia District are substandard from a Euro-Canadian point of view. Earned incomes, centered on fishing and trapping, are low. If Euro-Canadian society is to be of assistance to the people in solving their problems, knowledge and planning are necessary. It is the purpose of the Indian Development Study, centered on Round Lake, to provide an adequate basis for the preparation of a development plan. Research was undertaken concurrently in two major areas - analysis of the resource base and an ethnological study of the Indian community. Investigations in the former area concentrated on the fish and wildlife resource. The ethnological study was designed to provide an understanding of the economic, socio-political, educational and value systems of the Round Lake community.

Research for the project has largely been confined to the Round Lake community and to the 5,000 square mile area utilized by the people. However, it is hoped that the study will provide a means for solving problems common to Indians in the entire region.

The choice of Round Lake as the study area was based on two major factors. It was considered to be fairly representative of one type of Indian community in the Patricia District and of the problems such communities encounter. Secondly, there was available a considerable amount of ethnological information about the Round Lake people.

The help of many individuals and Government Agencies has been asked for and received. In particular we would like to thank the people of Round Lake, personnel of the Sioux Lookout District of the Department of Lands and Forests, Indian Affairs Branch, the Ontario Department of Mines, the Ontario Department of Education.

November 30, 1970.

J. Watts
Project Co-ordinator

ERRATA

- Page 222 - Paragraph 2 - should read "Residence Patterns and Social Organization": (see Black, 1969).
- Pages 234, 235 - Footnote - line 2 - should read "indicates more than nuclear family".
- Page 236 - Footnote - line 3 - should read "Remnant Nuclear - mother or father, plus children".
- Page 239 - Line 4 - should read co-residence "has" rather than "was".
- Page 317 - Line 9 - should read "baldly" rather than "badly".
- Page 325 - Footnote 1 - * See Black 1970a
- Page 374 - Line 2 - should read "future" rather than "culture".
- Page 378 - Bibliography -

Black, M. 1969 Maps and concepts of residence at Round Lake, Ontario, 1969. Paper presented at meetings of American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, November 1969.

Black, M. 1970a An ethnoscience report on a multi-code community. Paper presented at meetings of Canadian Sociological and Anthropological Association, Winnipeg, May 1970.

Black, M. 1970b Legends and accounts of Weagamow Lake. Article in Rotunda, Summer 1970, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

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INTRODUCTION

The work undertaken in the Round Lake Study was divided into three distinct but inter-locking areas. Personnel of the Fish and Wildlife and Research Branches undertook detailed studies of the fish and wildlife resources, and an analysis of the fur harvest for a 19-year period. The second area of research was an ethnological study of the Round Lake community carried out by the project ethnologist and consultant ethnologist of the Royal Ontario Museum. The final area of work was undertaken by the project co-ordinator. This involved supplying background information of a more general nature on those matters not included in the detailed research but necessary for an overall understanding of the functioning of the community.

The material compiled by these areas of research has been presented for this report in three parts. Part One presents a general description of the physical environment and the village; Part Two is made up of the research papers resulting from the resource studies; Part Three contains the ethnological study.

J. Watts
Project Co-ordinator

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Part One

AN INTRODUCTION
TO THE PEOPLE AND LAND
OF THE
ROUND LAKE AREA

CHAPTER 1

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

INTRODUCTION

Some understanding of the physical environment in which a people live and work is essential to an understanding of the people themselves, and to an assessment of the resources which support them. In the following pages an attempt has been made to provide generalized background information necessary to the detailed resource papers, and to develop an impression of the land inhabited by the Round Lake Ojibwa.

LOCATION AND DEFINITION OF STUDY UNIT

The Round Lake people inhabit a village on the north shore of Weagamow or Round Lake, approximately two hundred miles north of Sioux Lookout. Figure 1:1 shows the general location of the study unit in Ontario.

The boundary of the study area delimits the area used by the Round Lake Band for fishing and trapping. It encloses an area of approximately 5000 square miles (Figure 1:2).

ELEVATION

The area rises gradually from about 900 feet above sea level in the north to 1300 feet in the southwest.

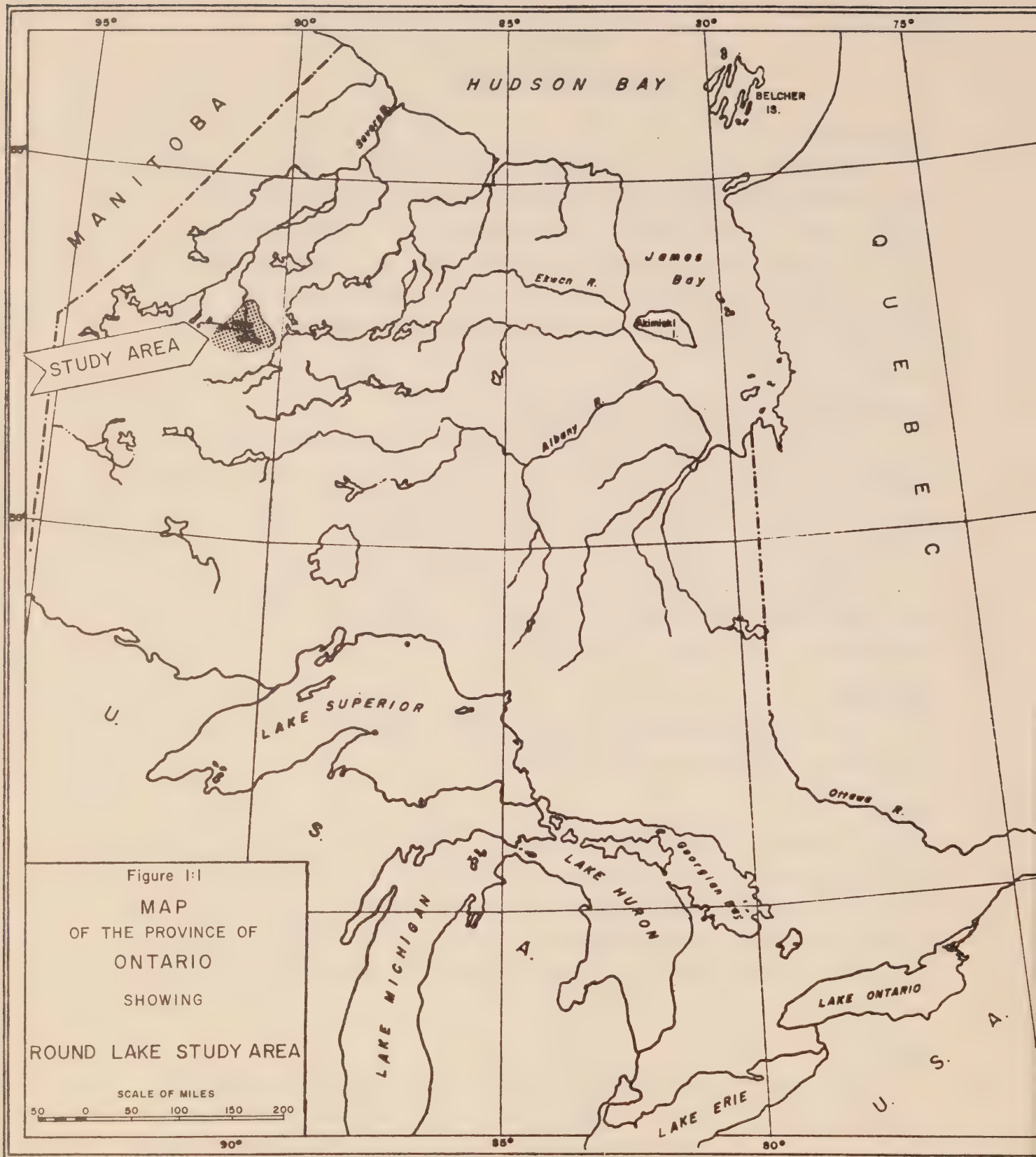
RELIEF

The Round Lake area lies within the Canadian Shield. Overall relief is low; some local relief is provided by rock outcrops and by hills and ridges of glacial material, some rising three or four hundred feet above the surrounding terrain. The most broken landscape is in the southwest where considerable relief is provided by morainic material.

GEOLOGY

The bedrock is Precambrian. The oldest rocks are volcanic, considered to be the Keewatin type. Lying on top of the Keewatin rocks are sediments of the Timiskaming type. Both the sediments and volcanics have been folded, metamorphosed and intruded by granitic material.

The volcanics and sediments occur in several tightly folded synclinal belts (see Figure 2:38). Extensive areas of granitic



batholiths border these older rocks. These belts are of economic significance and will be discussed under the section on mining.

Outcrops of bedrock are limited by a mantle of Pleistocene material. The most frequent occurrences of outcrop are in the areas of the metavolcanic-metasedimentary belts.

The mantle of Pleistocene material varies in thickness from thin to several hundred feet. It is unconsolidated and mainly glacial in origin. The mantle appears to reach its greatest thickness in a band running northwest-southeast through the south central section. This is part of a major moraine that stretches, discontinuously, to the east and west between Petownikip Lake and the Albany north of Lake Nipigon.

LANDFORMS

The area lies within the Severn Upland division of the Physiographic Map of Canada. It is described as a "broad rolling surface without any conspicuous feature".

Considering this rather subdued landscape in more detail, a few landforms gain some local significance. Bedrock outcrops to form a line of fairly prominent hills on the north shore of Upper Windigo and a series of ridges following the belt of volcanics and sediments of the Round Lake-North Caribou area.

Landforms of glacial origin are particularly conspicuous in the south-central area. To the east of the Windigo Lakes stretches a ridge of bouldery material rising between 300 and 400 feet above the surrounding land.

Tamarack and black spruce swamps cover extensive areas; low hills rise from the swamps to give some relief to the landscape.

DRAINAGE

Drainage is poor over large areas of the Study Area owing to the general low relief of the land. Flying over the area one has the impression of innumerable lakes, streams and swamps.

Rivers: Most of the area drains north and west via the North Caribou and Windigo Rivers into the Severn River. The southernmost and far eastern sections are drained to the east and northeast by the Pipestone which is part of the Winisk River System (Figure 1:3).



Figure 1:3 DRAINAGE - ROUND LAKE AREA

Bouldery rapids are common along the course of many of the rivers. Because of the level nature of the terrain, there are few falls of significant height. Only the Dawes Falls on the Windigo River could be considered at all noteworthy; it has a drop of only twelve feet.

Lakes: A count of lakes within the Study Area shows over 2250 lakes of sufficient size to appear on a 1:250,000 scale map. Although lakes are found in all parts of the region, there appears to be a heavier concentration in the area stretching to the north and south of the Round-Eqapamikama-North Caribou chain.

The lakes have been roughly grouped according to size in Table 1:1.

Table 1:1 LAKE SIZE (In Square Miles)

Extremely Small $\frac{1}{4}$	Very Small $\frac{1}{4} - 1$	Small 1 - 4	Medium 4 - 16	Large 16 - 100	Very Large 100 - 400
800	1355	86	19	8	1

In general, the shorelines of the lakes may be described as having a low to moderate slope. Where granite outcrops, the shoreline is irregular and rocky. In the areas of heavy overburden the typical shoreline is bouldery with many sand and gravel beaches formed by deposition of the finer material eroded from the glacial till of exposed areas.

The lakes are shallow. Many of the smaller lakes have swampy shorelines and are gradually being filled by clay and organic material.

CLIMATE

The Round Lake area experiences a continental climate classified as Humid Microthermal, Subarctic. Briefly this indicates a long cold winter, a short cool summer. The area lies near the boundary with the sub-humid zone, and therefore has a relatively low annual precipitation for a humid region.

Although the average frost free season for the area is shown as about 100 days, the frost hazard is high. Temperatures may be expected to drop below freezing a few nights in June, and with increasing frequency after the third week in August.

As indicated by the January mean, winter temperatures are low. During December, January and February daytime temperatures seldom rise above zero; days are short; strong winds blow from the north-west.

Table 1:2

CLIMATIC DATA

Mean Annual Temperature	25° - 28° F
Mean July Temperature	61° F
Mean January Temperature	- 18° F
Average Frost Free Period	100 Days
Average Length of Growing Season	135 - 140 Days
Average Annual Precipitation	20 - 23 Inches

Although periods of fairly high temperatures may be experienced during the summer, they are of short duration. Cloud cover and strong winds are of frequent occurrence during the summer months.

A final aspect of the climate which bears on life in the area is the amount of snowfall. Although the total snowfall figure is not very high, little melting occurs after October, and accumulations of snow may be considerable. Snow remains on the ground until May.

The Round Lake area lies in the southern fringe region of the zone of discontinuous permafrost. Permafrost occurs in isolated areas of peat, on north facing slopes, or along river banks shaded by trees from the warming effect of the sun.¹

VEGETATION

Round Lake lies near the northern edge of the forest zone classified as Northern Coniferous.² Black spruce is the common species on both the well-drained and poorly-drained sites; good jack pine stands, mixed stands of white and black spruce, balsam poplar, balsam fir, white birch and trembling aspen grow on the morainic ridges and other well-drained sites. A variety of shrubs and berry bushes grow in the more open areas. Common shrubs and bushes are mountain-ash, pin-cherry, sour-top bilberry, alder, willow, and Labrador tea (Rogers, 1962).

1. Geological Survey of Canada, Permafrost in Canada, Map 1246A

2. J.S. Rowe, Forest Regions of Canada, Canada Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources, Bulletin 123, Ottawa, 1959.

SOILS

Over large areas the parent material of the soil is glacial. Limestone, carried by the glaciers from the Paleozoics of the Hudson Bay Lowlands, is abundant in the till ridges.

The soils of the area as a whole are classified as podzol. However, the soils of the well-drained areas belong to the brown or grey podzolic soil group. In areas of poor drainage, peat glei and peat soils occur.

FAUNA

The fish and wildlife resources of the area are of great importance to the Band; they are the source of food, clothing and cash income.. These resources will be discussed in greater detail in the reports under the Fisheries and Wildlife sections.

Mammals: Moose, woodland caribou and black bear inhabit the Study Area in significant numbers. Caribou are reported to be much less numerous than in the past. In contrast, the moose population is thought to be increasing. At the beginning of the century moose were reported to be only in the southern part of the area; they are now widely distributed.

The number and species of fur bearers found in the area is rather large. Beaver, mink, otter, muskrat, red squirrels, varying hare, ermine, lynx, fox, fisher and wolves are all known.

Birds: The variety and populations of birdlife vary with the season. During migration, there are large numbers of birds; Rogers listed 46 species that had been named by Round Lake people (Rogers, 1962). Grouse, ptarmigan, owls, ravens, jays and chickadees are the main species that remain throughout the winter. Summer residents are a few species of ducks, loons, gulls, white throated sparrows, great blue heron, ravens, crows, grouse and many small song birds. During migration, several species of ducks and Canada geese appear in moderate numbers; blue and snow geese are found in smaller numbers.

Fish: Whitefish, yellow pickerel, northern pike, and yellow perch appear to be in good supply throughout the lakes of the area. Other species, such as lake trout and sturgeon, are found in limited numbers in certain lakes and streams.

Several species of rough fish (e.g. burbot, sucker) are common throughout the region as well. Although these are not commercially important, they are of use locally.

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CHAPTER 2THE ROUND LAKE COMMUNITYINTRODUCTION

The Round Lake Community is made up of approximately 370 Indian people, predominantly Ojibwa, and a few Euro-Canadians. The village is not located on an Indian Reserve; the associated reserve is a 25,664 acre parcel of land on the south shore of North Caribou Lake. There is no permanent community on the Reserve. The Round Lake Band is officially referred to as the Caribou Lake Band, although people from North Caribou form only a segment of the Round Lake community. Some further clarification of nomenclature appears necessary: although the name Round Lake refers to the village, the Indian name Weagamow Lake is used on maps to refer to the lake and post office. Weagamow means literally "round lake". The Indian name is increasingly being used to refer to the settlement as well.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE VILLAGE

The establishment of a permanent village at Round Lake occurred about 20 years ago. In 1949 two buildings which were to be the nucleus of the permanent settlement were erected - a Hudson Bay Post and the Anglican church. Prior to this, there had been seasonal dwellings at Round Lake where people tended to congregate during the summer season. The Post and church attracted people from Makoop Lake to the north, North Caribou to the southeast, and Windigo and Fisher Lakes to the southwest. Log houses replaced the more temporary shelters, and people spent more of their time in the village. A government school was built in 1953. This attracted more people to the settlement, and tended to lengthen the time spent by residents in the village.

THE VILLAGE TODAY

Site: The site of the settlement is a sandy peninsula. This choice appears to have been a good one for several reasons. With the exception of a few low areas, the ground is well-drained; the pathways are dry underfoot shortly after the snow disappears in spring. The village is exposed to the winds which give relief from the black flies and mosquitos. The sandy shoreline offers a convenient and safe place for beaching canoes, as well as recreation for the young.

Services: The houses, connected by a broad sandy pathway, stretch along the two bays formed by the peninsula. There is some concentration of facilities in the central area, e.g. the school, nursing station, Co-op Store, Anglican Church and Cafe. The Hudson Bay Post and Evangelical Church are located in a more peripheral position.

The community is served by a government-run school and nursing station. The latter, completed in 1969, is staffed by two non-Indian nurses and two local helpers. There are two established stores with a third operating on a very small scale. Three churches hold regular services. A council house provides a place for meetings and on rare occasions, for entertainment. A cafe, built in 1969, has been well received by the younger villagers. With the exception of the school, there is no community centre where people might gather for organized recreation or social activities. All three churches fulfill this function for their members to some extent.

There is no domestic water system, sewage system or electric power with the exception of that associated with the government buildings. Although there were two or three wells at one time, at present water is carried by the pailful from the lake.

Housing: The Housing stock ranges from dilapidated to new. In 1968 Indian Affairs estimated a need for 20 new houses over a five year period. Under their Housing Program, initiated in 1965, several houses have been constructed.

An outsider visiting a Round Lake home would be struck by the apparent poverty. By southern standards, the homes are small and lack all conveniences with the possible exception of a telephone. Many are one room, all are without plumbing, water and electricity.

THE ECONOMY

The Round Lake people are in a period of transition between a subsistence and a money economy. As in the past they depend upon the land for food and firewood. However, it is no longer a total dependence; today part of their food, most of their clothing and equipment are purchased at the stores. The increased need for money is met by trapping, fishing, wage employment and government aid. The people have moved from the self-sufficiency of the past to a state of considerable dependence upon the "outside" economy.

Income: The growing reliance on the outside economy for goods has produced an increasing need for cash income. At present money is obtained from three main sources: the fish and wildlife resource, part-time wage employment and government aid. The relative importance of each of these income sources is indicated in Table 1:3.

Table 1:3 MAJOR SOURCES OF INCOME 1968 - 1970

Source	Approximate Income Per Year
Trapping	\$ 30,000
Fishing	35,000
Wage Employment	40,000
Government Aid	87,000
Total	\$192,000

The per capita income of approximately \$500 is low. On the basis of this figure, and using income as a criterion, most Round Lake people would be within the poverty category. But income is not a satisfactory basis for defining poverty in a northern community such as Round Lake. When the value of country food, firewood and minimal housing costs are taken into consideration, effective income is significantly higher and would put most families out of the poverty class. However, as is characteristic of the poor, a very high percentage of income is spent on the basic needs - food, clothing, equipment and supplies for earning a living.

Occupations: The major occupations of the Round Lake people are described in detail in Part III of this report and will therefore be omitted from this section.

POPULATION GROWTH

In a community dependent upon the land for earning a livelihood and where little alternate employment is available, the size and rate of population growth is extremely significant.

Rogers (1962) states that the population of the Round Lake Ojibwa at the beginning of the century was probably equivalent to or larger

than at the time of his field work ten years ago. Although birth rates were high, the overall growth rate was kept down by high mortality rates due to epidemics, famine and infant deaths. In the past twenty years, mortality rates have been dropping steadily while birth rates remain high. Under these conditions, there has been a rapid increase in population since 1949. It is therefore possible that population growth may become a problem within the next decade or so. The population under discussion is too small to make statistically valid projections, but some indication of growth may be determined by looking at trends in the basic components of population change.

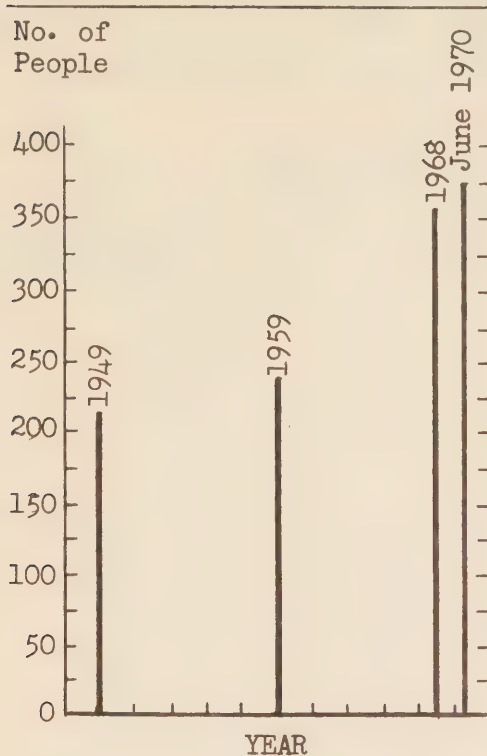
Mortality Rates: Although statistical data are lacking, it is evident that government action has had considerable effect upon the mortality rates in the past two decades. Government aid has eliminated death by starvation; better health care programs have decreased child mortality and helped control epidemics. The risks associated with child birth are now being reduced by sending the women out to hospital. The recent establishment of a nursing station at Round Lake will probably accelerate this decrease in the mortality rate.

In Table 1:4 the number of child deaths in families of two age groups is shown. Although these two groups are not strictly comparable because of the smaller total number of children in the younger age group, a trend is apparent. In the older age group, the majority (83%) of families had lost at least one child; on the basis of number of children born to this age group one child in five died during infancy. In the younger group, one child in nine died. This is still well above the normal rate in Canada but will continue to drop in the future.

Birth Rates: The population of Round Lake has been increasing rapidly for the past twenty years (Figure 1:4). Much of this increase is accounted for by the high birth rate. Twenty births occurred during the two year study period. Relative to the small population (approximately 360 mid-way through the period) this is a very high rate of increase.

Families are large and there is no apparent trend towards smaller ones. Families in two age groups were selected for study to determine trends in family size, spacing of children, and child mortality.

Figure 1:4 POPULATION GROWTH



Although a direct comparison of family size of the two age groups is not valid as the younger age group is still having children, the trend indicated by the spacing of the family is indicative. In the younger age group the interval between child birth was even shorter than that in the older group. The trend in the older age group was to produce children throughout the child-bearing age. Although this trend may be altered in the future, there is as yet no indication of change. Of the 15 families in the younger group, 9 had had at least one child within the past two years, 14 had had children within the past three years.

Table 1:4 COMPARISON OF CERTAIN FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS
BY PARENTAL AGE GROUP

Characteristic	Parental Age Group	
	20 - 30	40 - 50
Number of Families in Age Group	15	12
Average Number of Surviving Children per Family	3	8
Number of Families in Which Child Mortality has Occurred	5	10
Total Number of Children Lost	6	22
Average Interval Between Birth of Children, by Family		
— less than one year	2	1
— one to two years	11	5
— two to three years	2	6

Two additional factors which may influence the birth rate are the age of marriage and the distribution of the population within age groups. A trend towards later marriage of females is indicated in Table 1:5.

Table 1:5 AGE OF FEMALES AT MARRIAGE - ROUND LAKE

Period	Age of Marriage								Total No. of Females
	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21 & over	
1938-58	4	5	3	2	2	2	-	2	20
1958-67	-	1	-	3	4	7	2	7	24

Source: E.S. Rogers, E. Weigeldt

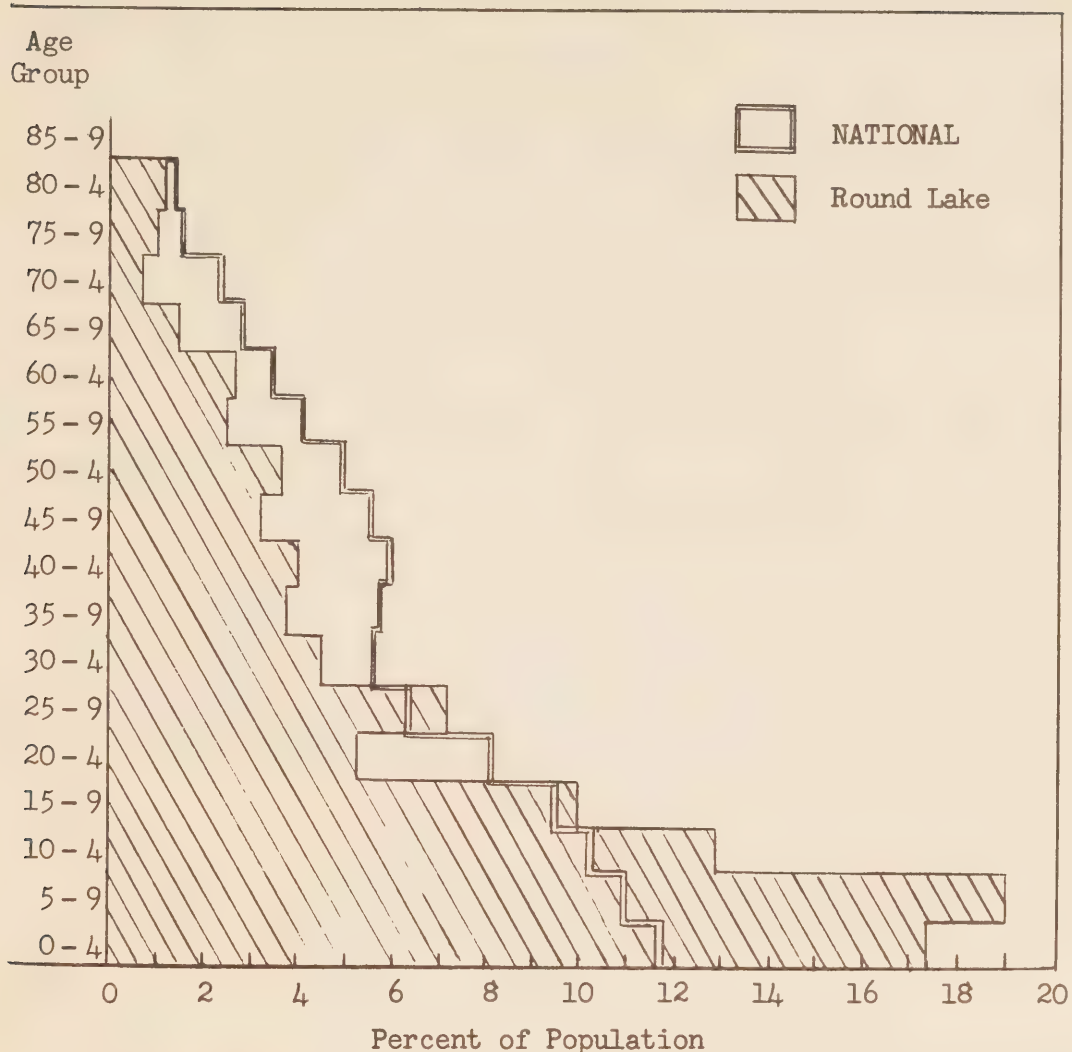
As this will reduce the child bearing period of marriage, it could influence the birth rate to some extent. Of very great significance in a consideration of possible population growth is the youthfulness of that population. Figure 1:5 indicates that 49% of the population is under 15 years of age compared to the national average of 33%. The potential for future growth of the Round Lake population is very great.

Migration: It is possible that overall population growth will be significantly reduced by migration. The amount of emigration in the past is very difficult to determine; many of the people who do leave, return to the community after a period of time. They can not therefore be classified as true emigrants. For this reason and a scarcity of information, the figures given in Table 1:6 should not be considered totally accurate.

In twenty-one years there has been a net loss of approximately 50 individuals through migration - about 25 percent of the natural increase. It is probable that emigration in the future will at least equal this rate, and will probably exceed it. Three factors favour an acceleration in the rate of emigration: the youth today are better equipped to find employment in the south; as the population increases there may be relatively fewer jobs in the community; several young people have expressed a desire to live in the south.

Figure 1:5 DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY AGE GROUP

June 1970



Factors which may restrict the amount of emigration are also present. Round Lake is a cohesive community, family ties are strong, and there is little evidence as yet of unrest among the young. Based on these considerations, emigration will probably drain off at least 25 percent of the natural increase of the population. Even if this rate doubles in the future, overall population growth will still be significant.

In summary, mortality rates are dropping while birth rates remain high; potential for increased growth due to the youthful population is great. These factors combine to indicate that the present high rate

Table 1:6 MIGRATION IN THE ROUND LAKE COMMUNITY 1949 - 70

	Number of Migrants
Round Lake Band members not resident as of December 1968	63
Band members moving out during the period December 1968 - June 1970	10
Total	73
Band members returning to Round Lake during the period December 1968 - June 1970	9
Net change from emigration	64
Immigrants to Round Lake community (excluding Euro-Canadians).	18
NET CHANGE FROM MIGRATION	- 46

of natural increase will continue in the future, probably at an accelerated rate. Although there has been some loss from emigration it has not off-set the growth from natural increase. Although emigration may increase in future, it is not expected to significantly reduce overall population growth.

Reference

Rogers, E.S., The Round Lake Ojibwa, Occasional Paper 5,
Royal Ontario Museum, 1962.

Weigeldt, Erik, Written communication, August 1970.

CHAPTER 3

TRANSPORTATION

Contributory to the essential nature of the Round Lake settlement are two inter-related factors - geographical location and means of transportation. The northerly position and isolation of the community have become increasingly significant as the community has become decreasingly self-sufficient. Means of transportation have always been an important matter to these semi-nomadic people, but are becoming increasingly so as the economy of the community becomes more closely tied to that of the "outside".

PAST

Historically, the Round Lake people used dogs and canoes to move about the country. The economy was, because of isolation, basically non-commercial. Furs were traded, but contact with the Euro-Canadian economy was very limited.

With the rapid growth of air transport in the north, the Round Lake people became increasingly dependent upon manufactured items from the south, and as a result, upon air transport.

PRESENT

Round Lake is approximately 200 air miles from the nearest main-line rail point and, until very recently at least half that distant from an all-weather road. Air transport is at present the only rapid means of access.

The snowmobile has replaced the dog sled in most households in the community. It is used in town and for travel to the trapline and fish camp, wood-gathering and more recently, for visiting other communities.

The community is serviced by one scheduled flight per week. This plane brings in the mail, passengers and freight. The scheduled service is augmented by frequent arrivals of chartered and government aircraft. The planes are equipped with skis in winter and pontoons in summer. Service is halted during spring break-up and fall freeze-up. This period of isolation may last from one to several weeks.

Although much of the freight is brought in by aircraft, fuel, building materials and other bulk freight are hauled in by the annual tractor train. The freight rate per pound is approximately 9¢ by tractor train, 15¢ by air.

FUTURE

Two programs to improve accessibility in Northern Ontario are at present being implemented: the Roads to Resources Program and the Airstrip Development Program.

Roads: Under the Roads to Resources Program, construction of an access road commenced in 1962. When completed, this road will form a loop running northward from Pickle Crow to the Windigo Lake area, then southward to Red Lake. A second road is planned to run northward from the top of the loop to Lingman Lake

At the end of 1969, the road had been completed to the Pipestone River, a distance of 94 miles from Pickle Crow. Construction began at the Red Lake end in 1968; 17 miles had been completed by the end of 1969. The initial plan called for construction of an average of five miles per year from each end. However the road is now being pushed northward at an accelerated rate. It is expected that at least 25 miles will be completed during the 1970 season. At this rate, the road will reach the top of the loop within two years. The road will be an all-weather gravel surface route.

The distance from the Round Lake settlement to the road will be approximately 30 miles. A connecting link to the community has been suggested.

The road will create change in the Round Lake settlement. However, benefits to the economy may not be great. Hardy and adventuresome tourists, hunters and fishermen will follow the road northward, but not in great numbers. Transportation costs will be lower, but perhaps not significantly so. The geographical fact remains, it is still a long distance to any major transportation route or major population centre. Long distances over gravel roads, through isolated regions, will not attract large numbers of people. The cost of transporting



HAULING FIREWOOD



SUMMER TRANSPORTATION
INCOMING FREIGHT

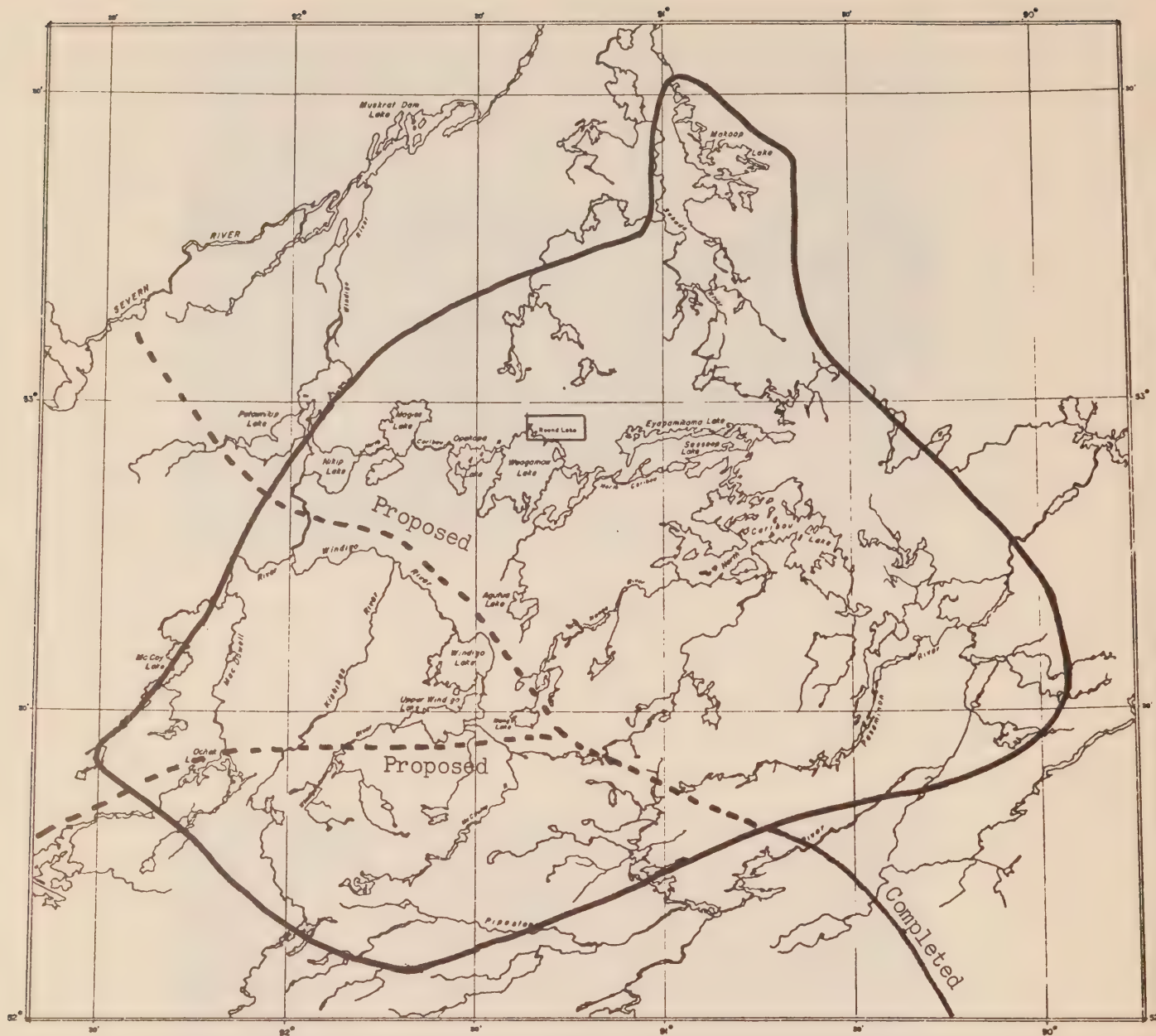


Figure 1:6 LOCATION OF PROPOSED ROAD

goods will still be high relative to costs in southern Ontario.

The Commercial Fishery should benefit if the road is brought into the village. Road transport would overcome the problems of air transporting their fish — high cost and delays and losses due to adverse flying weather.

Air Transport: Small, gravel airstrips are being constructed in the neighbouring reserves of Big Trout Lake and Sandy Lake under the "highways in the sky" program. It is expected that these airstrips will allow greater accessibility thereby stimulating economic development. Although this type of development has not been initiated at Round Lake, it is conceivable that an airstrip may be built there in the future.

CHAPTER 4

UTILIZATION OF RESOURCES

Discussion of the use of the resources will be restricted in this section to two relatively minor topics — gardening and timber; the use of major resources has been discussed in other sections of this report.

GARDENING

Gardens are not a noticeable feature of the village landscape. A few of the local people were reported to have garden plots, but the only two that were observed were beside the homes of non-Indians.¹

The major limitation to raising food appears to be the lack of interest of the Indian people. The sandy soil and long daylight hours of summer would certainly allow a dependable harvest of the hardier vegetables such as root crops. Lettuce and less hardy plants were successfully grown in the gardens which were observed.

It is reported that an attempt was made to introduce hens into the community at some time in the past. As no hens were observed during the period of field work, it appears the scheme and hens were ill-fated.

TIMBER

Lumber: A sawmill was established by Indian Affairs at Round Lake in 1952. It is now owned by a local man and employs six to eight men at busy times of the year.

The sawmill supplies lumber for construction in the village and some of the neighbouring settlements. Most of the lumber is purchased by Indian Affairs.

In 1969 the sawmill was moved to a new site on the south shore of the lake. The supply of big logs within easy access of the old village site had been depleted. The boards are hauled back to the village by snowmobile at an average cost of 25 cents a board.

1 Rogers states that gardens were more common in the past.

Firewood: Historically the exhaustion of the fuel supply around a village was a common cause for abandonment of an otherwise favourable site. Jenness states that, where no wheeled vehicles or transport animals were available to haul wood from a distance, no settlement lasted longer than 12-20 years on account of depletion of the fuel supply and/or soil fertility.¹

A permanent settlement has been in existence at Round Lake for twenty years. During most of this period wood has been the only source of fuel for heating and cooking for the entire community. The amount of firewood required by the village has increased each year with the growth in population. During this time there has been a considerable amount of investment by the government e.g. the nursing station, school, teachers' houses. The relationship between the two previous statements is important - the supply of firewood may determine the permanency of the village. A survey was therefore conducted in an attempt to determine whether the supply of firewood could become a problem in the future. During the course of this survey, some interesting but divergent views were obtained about both the extent of the problem and the solution.

(a) Requirements - Every Indian household depends upon wood for both heating and cooking. With the exception of the nursing station, all non-residential buildings are also heated by wood. The teachers' homes and nursing station burn oil brought in from the south. This is too expensive to be an alternative at present for the Round Lake people.

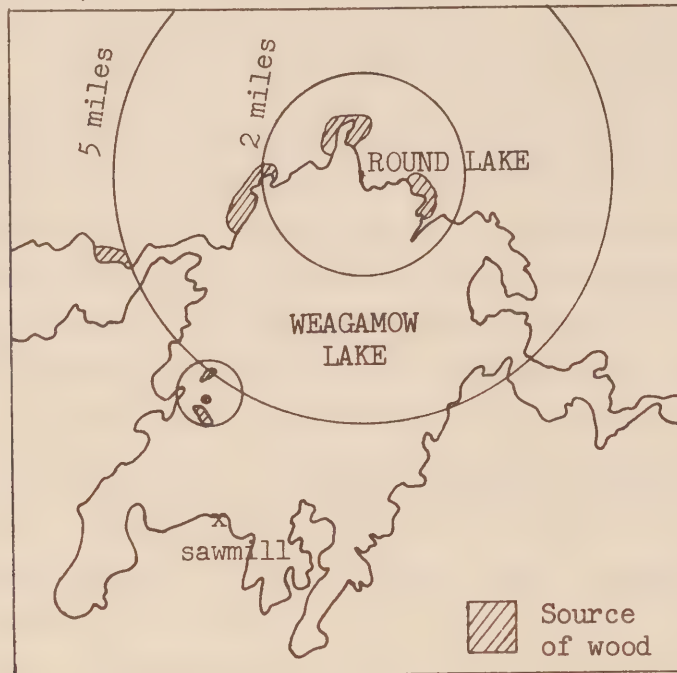
The requirement per household varies with the type of construction and stove. The newer houses require 6 or 7 cords (stovewood cords) per year in contrast to 10-12 for the older homes. Using an average of 9 cords per house and estimating the needs of the other buildings a total annual requirement of approximately 700 firewood cords was established for the village. This is an increase of 300 cords in the ten years since Rogers calculated the consumption of firewood.

1 Jenness was referring to the agricultural settlements of southern Ontario.

(b) Source of Firewood: The men have had to move progressively farther away from the settlement to obtain sufficient quantities of suitable wood. A restriction against cutting firewood in or near the village has been imposed and appears to be respected. Ten years ago men went a mile or two from the village for wood; now they go up to a distance of five miles. The most commonly used source of wood is across the bay

Figure 1:7

SOURCES OF FIREWOOD



from the settlement at the site of a burn which occurred five or six years ago. The men questioned in the survey agreed that there was still plenty of good dry wood left there.

(c) Supply of Firewood: A few of the men questioned expressed some concern regarding the supply of firewood in the future, but none appeared to feel that this was either a serious or an immediate problem. The use of the snowmobile and power saws has taken much of the hard work and drudgery out of this task. In the past the gathering of firewood was a daily chore; now substantial woodpiles are seen beside most homes. Although it is necessary to go further for wood now, it is relatively easy to do so.

One man suggested that at the present rate of consumption there was a ten year supply within a reasonable hauling distance; another who is perhaps in a better position to judge, estimated a five-year supply.

An increase in the number of houses coincident with population growth may considerably increase the rate of consumption. But at least part of this increase will be off-set by a decline in the requirements of the individual household with the use of more efficient stoves and new housing.

Two additional factors may influence the situation. The custom has been to cut only near the shore. Now that the snowmobile, rather than the canoe, is used to haul the wood, it should be possible to extend cutting further inland from the shore. Secondly, there has been some trend to organize the cutting and hauling of firewood. Individuals are using their snowmobiles and power saws to cut and haul wood to the village for others, at a price. This eliminates the necessity for each household to obtain its own supply directly. Such organization could make more efficient use of the present source of supply, and could allow more distant sources to be used at some increase in cost, but without hardship to the village as a whole.

(d) Cost of Firewood: Standard prices appear to have been established for the provision of firewood. The charge for cutting is \$6.00 per cord; for hauling, \$10.00 per cord. The margin of profit earned is not known, but with the price of gas at \$1.70 to \$2.00 per gallon, it is probably not excessive.

In summary, at present, there is sufficient firewood within a reasonable hauling distance of the settlement. The rate of consumption has increased with the growth of the village and will continue to do so. Among the local people as a whole there was no serious concern about the supply of firewood. The least optimistic estimate was put at five years. It is probable that this can be extended considerably by the efficient methods that are now developing.

References:

Jenness, Diamond, Indians of Canada, Ottawa, 1960.

Rogers, E.S., The Round Lake Ojibwa, Toronto, 1962.

Part Two

RESOURCE STUDIES

Traditionally, the economy of the Round Lake people has been based upon the primary renewable resources — fish, wildlife and the forests. It is expected that these resources will continue to be the basis of local economic activity in the future. For this reason, the research undertaken concentrated on the fish and wildlife resources.

However, the people of the relatively underdeveloped northern part of Ontario, including the village of Round Lake, are becoming increasingly affected by the activity of the economic interests of the south. Development of the mineral resource, or of tourism, may have important implications for the Round Lake community. For this reason, it was considered necessary to investigate the potential of those resources which, although not exploited by the Round Lake people, may affect the future of the community. These studies were based on available data and material and assistance provided by government departments.

CHAPTER 5

WILDLIFE RESOURCES IN THE ROUND LAKE BAND AREA

Traditionally, many terrestrial species of wildlife have been the most important sources of food and clothing for Indians in northern Ontario. In more recent times, the importance and form of utilization of wildlife have changed and many species, furbearers for example, now provide a source of income for purchasing non-native foods, clothing, and other material. Nevertheless, the abundance of wildlife is significant, in one way or another, to the livelihood of the people who presently inhabit the Round Lake area. Because of this, research on the populations of the three most important species, beaver, moose and caribou, was included in the Round Lake Study.

Aerial surveys in the falls of 1968 and 1969 and the summer of 1969 assessed population levels and distributions and the carrying capacity of the range for beaver. Data on moose and caribou numbers and distributions were obtained by aerial surveys in the winters of 1969 and 1970.

In considering the results, which include recommendations concerning future use of these resources, we are conscious of the possibilities that the ecological relationships which have existed between Indians and wildlife for centuries may be disturbed by factors originating outside the Round Lake area. Economic development of northern Ontario may drastically alter the ecology, the numbers and distributions of wildlife species, and the attitude of the people of Round Lake toward their environment.

It is, therefore, difficult to forecast the future ecological relationships which may exist. Natural population fluctuations in wildlife are not as yet totally predictable, and, coupled with socio-economic changes among the people, complicate recommendations for future utilization of wildlife. The results which are reported may be valid today but totally unacceptable at some time in the future. It is with this in mind that discussions about wildlife resources are presented in the following two reports.

MOOSE AND CARIBOU SURVEYS
WINTERS 1968-69 and 1969-70

Prepared by
R. B. Addison
Research Branch

INTRODUCTION

The numbers of moose and caribou resident to the Round Lake Indian Band Area have been estimated by sample counts during the winters of 1968-69 and 1969-70. The purpose was to evaluate the ability of the ungulate herds to provide a source of meat for the local residents and to assess the feasibility of encouraging a hunting oriented tourist trade. Figure 2:1 shows the census area (solid line) and the boundaries of the traplines registered to the Round Lake Indians (dotted line). The area encompassed by the trapline boundary is referred to in the following discussion as the Band Area.

METHOD

All counts were made from a Department of Lands and Forests Turbo-Beaver aircraft flying at an altitude of 245 m and an airspeed of 145 kph. Two sampling procedures were used:

- (1) Seventeen transects totalling 1900 km were flown in a N-S direction during the first survey. These were spaced 10 km apart and were divided into 10 km segments by a cross-grid.
- (2) Thirty square plots, 41.5 km^2 , were selected randomly in both years. During the survey in early 1969, the plots were centered along the N-S transects and between the E-W dividing lines (Figure 2:2). In 1970, the plots were centered in the squares created by the transect grid (Figure 2:3).

The transects were flown to provide an indication of moose and caribou distribution over the study area as evidenced by track densities. Records of animal sightings were kept during the track mapping. Along

the transects, the right and left observers kept separate tallies which were later totalled for each 10 km segment. Reference lines on the aircraft wing struts allowed the zone of observation to be restricted to a constant strip width of 245 m on each side of the aircraft. The total ground area observed along the transects was 930 km^2 . Sets of tracks were identified as moose or caribou and tallied separately. Only tracks classed as "new" -- probably less than one week old -- were counted. Because there had been very little new snow for several weeks prior to the survey, and during the survey no more than 2 to 5 cm fell, the ages of the tracks counted should have been consistent during the five days taken to complete the transects.

Each of the plots was surveyed in a manner usually referred to as "intensive search" (Trotter, 1958), but with plot size reduced to 41.5 km^2 and containing eight transect lines spaced at 800 m. These lines were close enough to allow overlapping visual coverage from one line to the next. All fresh tracks within the plot were followed until the animals were found or the tracks left the plot, and all animals seen were circled to ensure an accurate count.

RESULTS

Moose: Figure 2:2 shows the distribution of plots and the number of moose seen per plot during the 1968-69 survey. If the moose are considered to be distributed randomly, an estimate can be made of the number of moose. The mean number of moose per plot falls between 1.025 and 2.375 ($P=0.95$) resulting in an estimate of between 329 and 762 for the Band Area. Figure 2:3 shows the distribution of plots and the number of moose seen per plot during the 1969-70 survey. The mean number of moose per plot falls between 1.27 and 3.59 ($P=0.95$). The means estimated for the two years, 1.70 and 2.43 respectively, are not significantly different ($P=0.95$). Combining the data for the two years yields an estimate of moose numbers per plot of between 1.078 and 3.062 ($P=0.95$) or $2.07 \pm 47.9\%$.

Notice that doubling the sample size did not decrease the variance (from $1.70 \pm 41.3\%$ and $2.43 \pm 51.1\%$). This in itself is an indication that the distribution of moose is non-random. Examining the data further

shows that the number of plots without moose is significantly greater ($P=0.95$) than that expected from a random distribution of 73 moose on 60 plots. Bergerud and Manuel (1969) in a survey of moose in Newfoundland found a similar non-random distribution of individuals, but a random distribution of aggregations. Data in the present study were not collected in a manner to permit an adequate examination of the distribution of aggregations, but it is apparent, as will be shown later in the discussion, that in this survey these were likely non-random.

A major improvement in the confidence interval on the mean for the two years was achieved by calculating a mean number of moose per plot with moose and a probability of finding any moose on a plot. The number of moose per plot with moose calculated to $3.55 \pm 25.5\%$ and the overall moose per plot became $2.07 \pm 31.9\%$ ($P=0.95$). Extending this calculation to the total Band Area leads to an estimate of between 468 and 877 moose.

The estimation of moose numbers from the sample count has so far been based on a direct extrapolation from the sample survey to the total Band Area. It assumes that the sample was taken accurately, but this we know is not the case. On every plot there is the possibility of moose remaining unseen. In areas of dense forest, average "sightability" may be as low as 40% (Addison, 1970). The area surveyed in this study was more open than this and the proportion of animals sighted was judged to be quite high, approaching possibly 70 to 80%. On some occasions, fresh sets of tracks were seen on plots without the animals being located, but in all instances these were singles or pairs. Greater track densities always led to the finding of moose, and once they were found the counts were considered to be quite accurate. The main factor contributing to the belief that the estimate is low was a zero return on eight consecutive plots flown on two very windy days. Moose have been observed to stay close to timber under similar conditions and the drifting snow made aging of tracks impossible. For the purpose of this study, 80% has been accepted as a conservative sightability value making the estimated mean number of 665 moose equivalent to 832 moose actually present.

Although the survey was conducted after a period of hunting by the

local residents, it was thought that adjusting the estimate to include the small number that have been harvested would not have made a significant difference to the total. Hunting pressure, although increasing in the last two years, is light with Round Lake residents accounting for well under 50 moose a year.

The quality of moose habitat within the study area was given a qualitative ranking into two categories by the navigator while the transects and plots were being flown. The higher category included lands which would fall between Classes 1 and 3 in the Land Capability Class Descriptions for Moose (Thomasson, 1968). These areas offered a heterogeneous mixture of habitat types including young stands of poplar and aspen, evidence of regenerating burns, and the likelihood of good aquatic plant production. Figure 2:4 shows the division of habitat. Observations of moose in both years, and of moose tracks along the transect lines, were significantly higher ($P=0.95$) on the higher rated range with almost double the moose concentration observed on the lower rated range.

An examination of the distribution of moose in relation to habitat shows a strong association with the burns, although a sufficiently large sample was not taken to allow a statistical evaluation. For the remainder of the region there does not seem to be a strong selection for macro-habitat, but rather a utilization of "edge" conditions wherever they are available. Because of the large amount of the area that is in the category of relative openness due to poor soil or drainage, the potential number of moose should not fluctuate greatly with passage of time, unless there is a drastic change in the present rate of burning.

Caribou: Caribou proved very difficult to count during this survey because they were not travelling on the lakes during the day. It was apparent from their tracks that they were staying close to the dense timber stands. Thirty-four caribou were seen during the 1968-69 survey, only three of which were seen on the transects or plots. An additional eight were seen on a plot, but several days after that plot had been surveyed. The locations of these caribou are shown in Figure 2:5. Although these data could not be used to make a population estimate, it

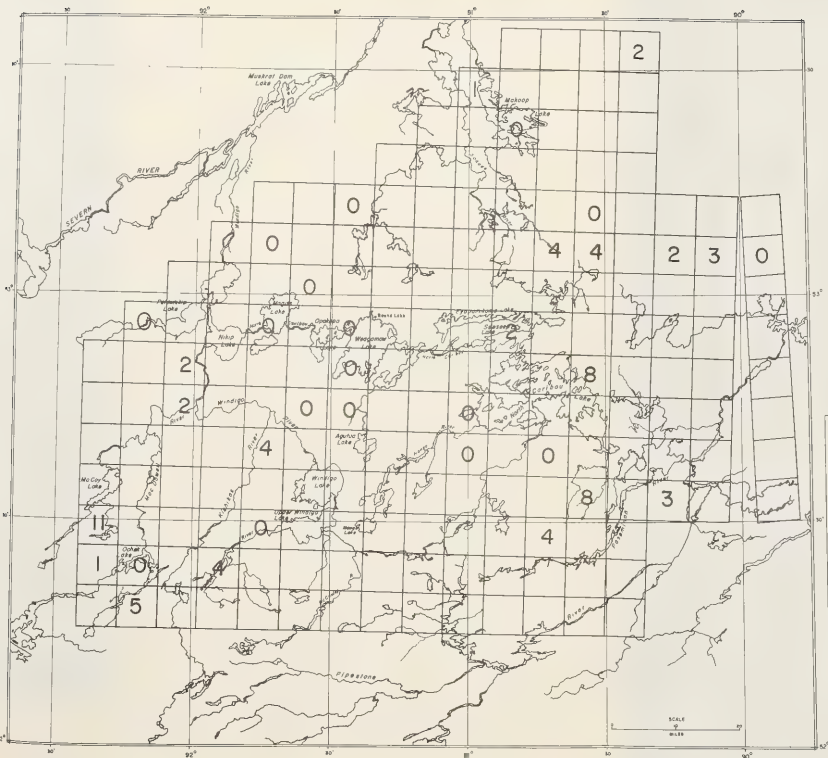
was the belief of the observers that about half of the animals had been located. During the 1969-70 survey, only four caribou were seen but the amount of sign seen was about the same as in the previous year. Almost certainly there are fewer than 100 caribou in the Band Area.

During 1961-62 a provincial caribou survey was conducted which estimated caribou numbers in each of the major habitat types (Simkin, 1965). The Band Area falls half in the Northwestern Region and half in the Western Rock Region. The caribou densities for these regions were estimated at 1 per 376 km² and 1 per 88 km² respectively. These are averages over very large zones but do give an indication of the numbers that might be expected. From these figures an estimate of 55 to 60 caribou could be made for the Round Lake Band Area.

The distribution of caribou was mapped according to track counts made while flying the transects (Figure 2:5). The transects were carried beyond the boundaries of the Band Area toward the NE in order that the extent of the distribution near Makoop Lake could be determined. This distribution can be compared to the results obtained during the 1961-62 surveys (Figure 2:6). At that time the portion of the Band Area falling in the Western Rock Region was not surveyed and, therefore, a comparison cannot be made. The most noticeable difference is the absence of caribou near Big Beaverhouse during the present survey. This area has been burned since the earlier survey and it is likely that the caribou have shifted to a more favourable area. It must be emphasized that the distribution that is being described refers to February and March only in both of the two years. The distribution of recorded caribou kills between 1956 and 1965 (Figure 2:6) is for 12 months a year and demonstrates that there must be movement throughout the year.

DISCUSSION

A reasonable approximation to the number of moose that can be harvested annually from a population of this size in this locality can be made from population parameters which have been documented for other areas. In the following section the mean estimated number of moose



ROUND LAKE STUDY AREA

The area covered by the Big Game Survey During the Winter of 1969-70.

Numbers indicate the location of the 40.5 km² plots, centered in the grid squares, and the number of moose observed on each plot.

FIG. 2-3

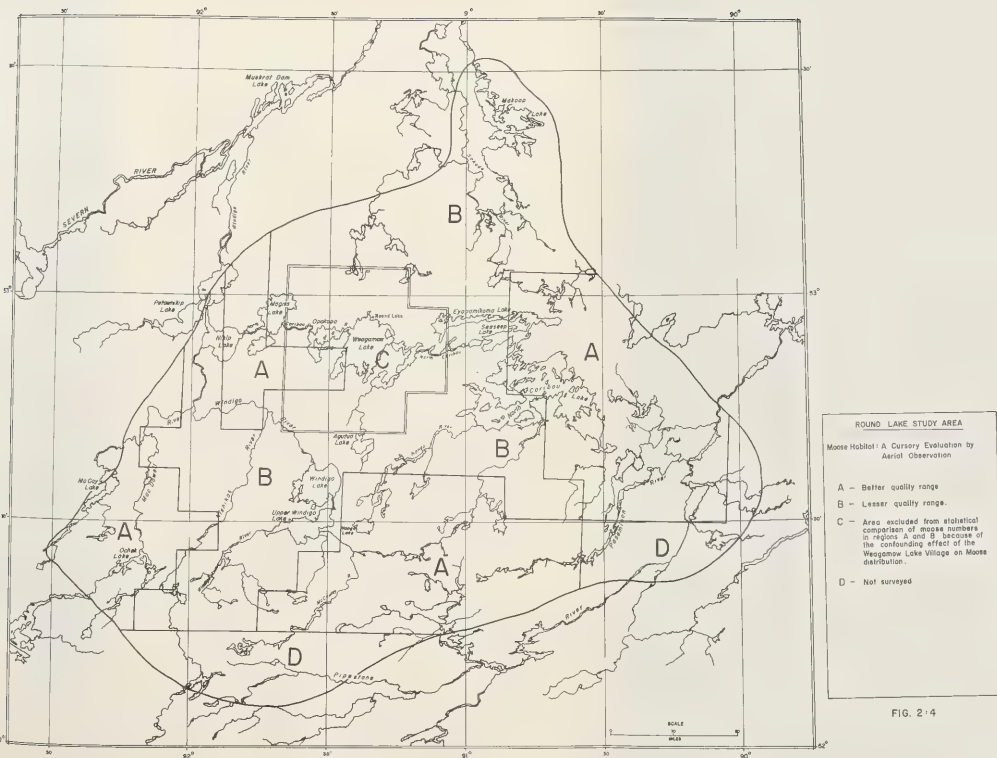


FIG. 2:4

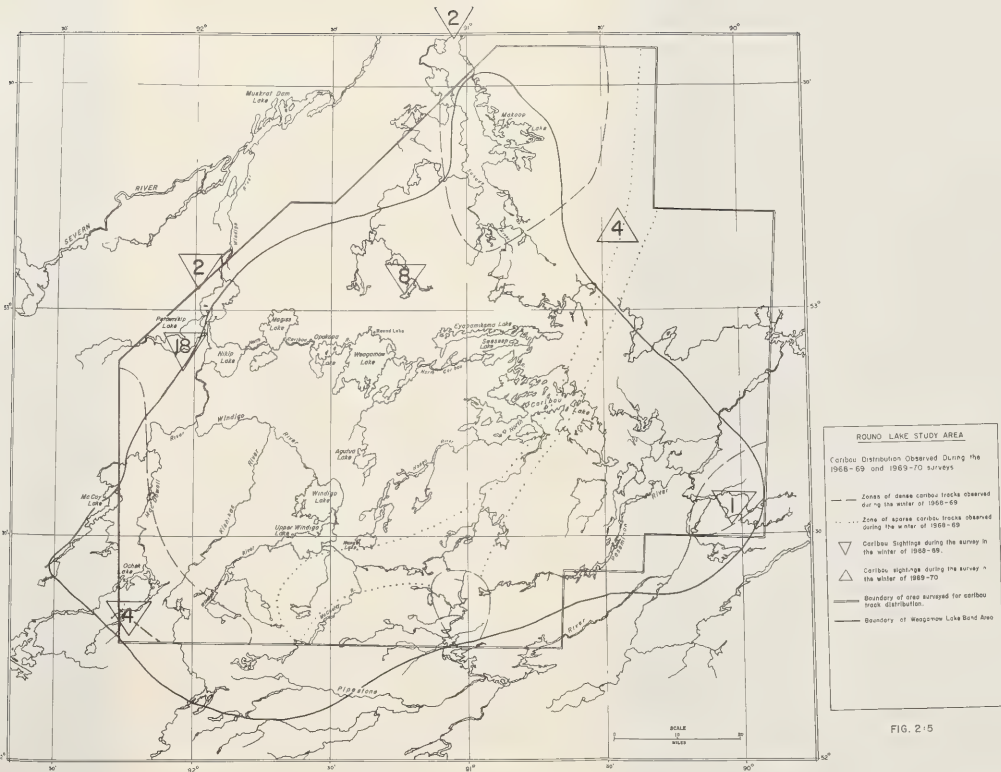


FIG. 2-5

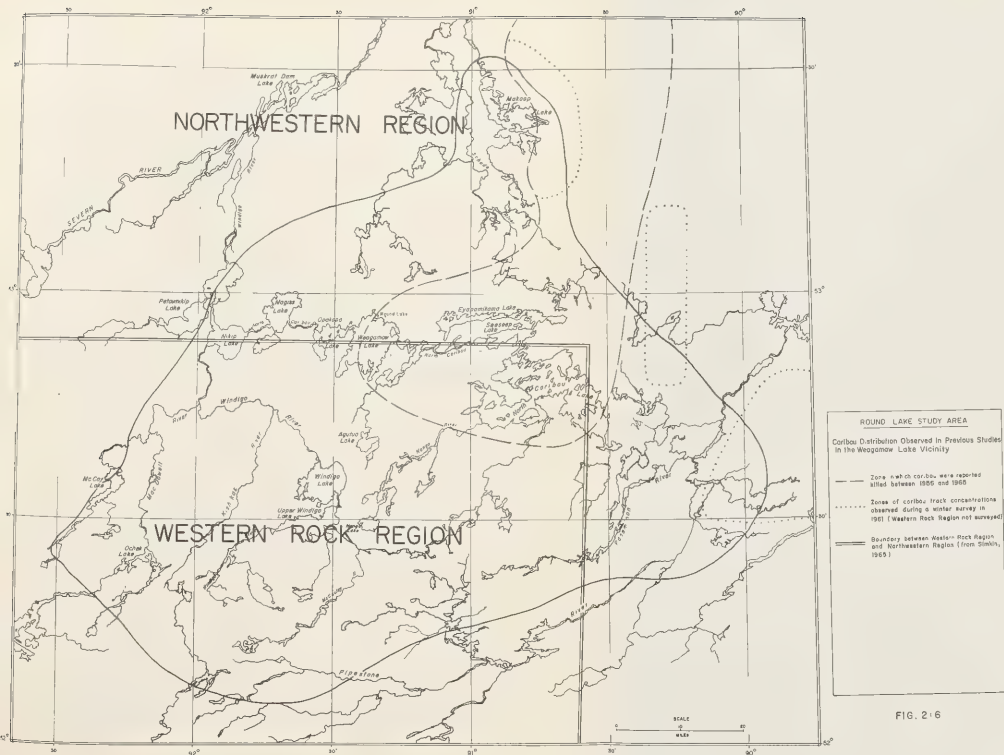


FIG. 2-6

of 832 will be taken as correct, and at the end it will be adjusted to include the limits of statistical reliability.

Net production of moose has been estimated in Newfoundland at 20 to 25% (Pimlott, 1959) and in Ontario at 25% (Simkin, 1955). This is equivalent to the survival of 0.6 calves per female, including yearlings. Simkin found that the gross, or total production based on corpora lutea counts was 0.17 calves per yearling female and 1.13 calves per adult female. In this same area the yearling percentage is approximately 24% (Hagan and Saunders, 1970) which will result in a combined gross production of 0.8 calves per female.

The northern location of Weagamow Lake relative to the Highway 105 area where Simkin worked would tend to suggest a less adequate nutritive value of the range. A shorter growing season, thinner soil profile, and an observed lower density of moose all support this hypotheses. Reproductive rate probably will also be lower. As the level of nutrition drops, the number of yearlings bearing calves diminishes and fewer adults bear twins (Simkin, 1955). Good information concerning neo-natal mortality is not available, but in domestic sheep young from poorly fed dams suffer a higher mortality rate under stressful conditions (Wallace, 1948).

How much difference there is in net production between the Highway 105 study area and the Round Lake area at the moment can only be a qualitative judgment. The sightings of twins this year (2 sets out of 18 calves on and off plots) indicate that a fairly good rate of reproduction can be expected, at least in some years. If a 1:1 ratio of males to females is assumed, the 15 calves in 73 sightings indicate a net production of 0.52 calves per female. Although the male to female ratio is known to be biased to favor females in a hunted population because of selective pressures toward males, there is no reason to suspect that in this population there should be a change from the natural ratio. A net production of 0.52 relates very well to the 0.6 observed at the Highway 105 Study Area when all factors are considered and tends to support the validity of the estimate.

Applying the observed net production of 0.52 calves per female to a

population of 832 moose indicates an addition of 156 calves to the winter population. If hunting pressure increases, the sex and age structure of the population would be expected to change, but the possibility for higher calf production due to the increased proportion of females will be offset by the lowered age structure of the population.

The estimate of 156 calves is based on the mean estimated number of moose in the band area, but the range of the mean lies between 585 and 1096 ($P=0.95$). The number of calves produced would then fall between 121 and 226. A cautious estimate of productive potential would demand that the lower figure be used, but the problems of under-rating the resource are probably as critical as over-estimating, so for our purposes the mean increment of 156, or in round figures 150, calves will be used.

These 150 calves are available for replacement of individuals lost from the population or for adding to the population. If hunting begins to take a large fraction of the population, the life expectancy of individuals necessarily decreases and fewer animals should be lost to old age. Although the evidence is somewhat lacking, it should be safe to say that most of the 150 animals should be available for harvest. These could be utilized as a local source of food or to support a consumptive tourist industry. How they are utilized must depend upon the relative benefits to be derived.

Before a decision can be made to encourage the development of a tourist industry, the attractiveness of the resource must be evaluated. Although 150 moose are available for harvest, the total population is distributed over $14,750 \text{ km}^2$ at an average density of 20 km^2 per moose. This is only one-quarter as dense as in more accessible areas further south. In the Highway 105 area, for example, hunters who drive and travel by boat achieve a success rate of around 30%. Those who spend more and fly in to areas where they can enjoy less competition for the available moose can expect a success rate approaching 80%. Can the Round Lake area supply more or better moose, or add an additional attraction to the hunter to lure him an additional 100 miles beyond the limits of present fly-in operations? Two things are certain; it will

cost more to fly in and it will be more difficult for a party to fill all of their licences. Except when a party is lucky enough to find a local concentration of moose, the distance between moose will be high and may necessitate operating out of more than one base camp. In the Highway 105 study area, the cost times the inverse of success rate approximates a constant. In order for the Round Lake area to compete for hunters, additional attractions must over-ride the added cost and probably compensate for a lower success rate. If these attractions are present they are not immediately obvious. One possible attraction is openness of the country which would allow use of all terrain vehicles (A.T.V.). Once there is road access beyond the Pipestone River, much of the area within the fuel range of these vehicles will be open to the hunter. However, it is difficult to foresee this as a potential source of revenue to the Round Lake Community. Regulations that would restrict the hunter to utilizing village facilities would further reduce the attractiveness of the area, but without them exploitation will occur with little benefit to the community.

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CHAPTER 6BEAVER POPULATIONS AND HABITAT IN THE
ROUND LAKE BAND AREA

by

R. Standfield and H. Smith
Research BranchINTRODUCTION

When the research on furbearers was planned as a contribution to the Round Lake Study we realized that we were limited to an assessment of beaver populations because there are presently no techniques for obtaining comparable data for other species, such as mink, otter and muskrat.

However, the beaver is the most important species of furbearer to the livelihood of the Round Lake people, as it is to other Bands in northern Ontario. It provides the major source of income from trapping and is frequently used as food, especially during the winter when trappers are away from the village.

Also, it is commonly known that the beaver provides the prime incentive for trapping effort and that other species are usually taken incidentally or at times of opportunity. An exception is the spring muskrat harvest. When beaver populations are low and trapping success declines, effort is not directed to other species. In fact, during periods of extreme scarcity of beaver many trappers may not go to their lines. The status of beaver populations, therefore, acts as an indicator of the potential for utilization of all furbearer resources even though there may be significant fluctuations in populations and economic value among other species.

Most of the 18 traplines in the Round Lake Band area are in the Severn River drainage basin. Those along the southern boundary of the area are partially drained by the Pipestone River into the Winisk River system.

In the early 1950's beaver populations throughout the Severn and Winisk River systems, and also the Hayes and Nelson River systems in Manitoba, were decimated by an epizootic of tularemia. By 1957 populations were very low and did not begin to recover until the early 1960's. Throughout these drainages populations are now considered to

be at high levels, although densities vary according to differences in qualities of habitat. No major changes in densities have been recorded for large areas of Patricia Central and West for the past four to five years, although there have been fluctuations, annually and regionally, around this dynamic upper limit (Standfield, unpublished data).

In order to speed the recovery in the late 1950's, beaver were transplanted to numerous areas surrounding Big Trout Lake but few were in the vicinity of the Round Lake Band area. Additionally, beaver trapping in some Band areas was suspended for a two year period, following the transplantings, but the Round Lake area was not included among these.

Beaver populations now inhabiting the Round Lake Band area are considered to be of native stock and have been influenced only slightly, if at all, by the transplantings made elsewhere.

METHODS

Three aerial surveys of the Round Lake Band area to assess colony densities, distributions and habitat were made during the course of the study. One, in late September and October, 1968 was hampered by bad weather and only every second transect was flown (1 - 17 inclusive). Another, in August, 1969, to assess food conditions was completed. A third, in October, 1969, supplemented population data and assessed the physical characteristics of beaver habitat. It could not be completed because of early freeze-up and snow cover over the southern part of the area.

The results of all three surveys were combined for various analyses because neither fall population survey was completed and the third provided habitat data alone.

The surveys were planned to obtain data over 18 E-W lines, of varying lengths and approximately 9.7 km (6 miles) apart, to provide a 12% sample of the total Band area (Figure 2:7). The direction was chosen to intersect the maximum number of drainage systems, which are generally flowing to the north, and the locations of the lines were systematically based on parallels of latitude. Transects were flown along these lines at a mean altitude above ground level of 244 m (800 feet).

Observations were made from both sides of the aircraft in fixed zones which averaged 488 m (1,600 feet) each. The area observed per kilometre (mile) was, therefore .97 km² (.60 miles²). Parts of the transects extended beyond the Band area and these have not been used in all the analyses.

Observations of active beaver colonies within the zones were recorded by the times of the occurrences along the transects (to the closest .5 minute) and these were later plotted on 1:250,000 topographical maps.

Data on the food available, within a distance of 183 m (600 ft)¹, around each stream, river, pond or lakeshore within the zones of observation were estimated according to the relative abundances of hardwoods (aspen, balsam poplar, white birch), conifers (black and white spruce, jack pine, tamarack), and bare ground. These were expressed as percentages of the total area observed.

In addition, estimates were made of the abundances of willow, alder and aquatic plants for each occurrence of water. These data were recorded as abundant (A), moderate (M), and scarce (S). The locations and evaluations of each observation were plotted on 1:250,000 topographical maps.

Three evaluations of available food were constructed on the above data and are shown as Classes I, II, and III in Table 2:1.

Table 2:1 COMPOSITION OF WOODY AND AQUATIC VEGETATION
FOR THREE CLASSES OF AVAILABLE FOOD

Class	Aspen Balsam poplar White	Black White spruce Jack pine Tamarack	Willow Alder	Aquatic Vegetation
I	10% +	- 90%	A, M, or S	A, M, or S
	- 10%	90% +	A	A, M or S
II	- 10%	90% +	S	A
	- 10%	90% +	M	A, M, or S
III	- 10%	90% +	S	M or S

1. The distance is the average observed limits of feeding range for beaver in northern Ontario.

Data were also collected about the physical characteristics of each body of water occupied by beaver in the zones of observation. Each was identified as stream, river, pond or lake. Additional information was recorded about the swiftness of currents, erosion of banks, slope of shores, exposure to wind and wave action and soil characteristics, (peat, sand or boulders).

Data about the most pertinent characteristics are analyzed in the report.¹

The occurrence of each beaver colony was related to the food availability classification and the physical characteristics of the habitat. This was later analyzed on the basis of individual traplines and is reported in this manner.

As noted previously, the data on population distribution, food and water, collected from both zones of observation (left and right), were combined in the analyses.

Within the data collected by the two observers (left and right) there were differences, some statistically significant, in the numbers of colonies observed, the classification of food and the classification of water along various transects. Over most transects the left observers had higher ratings for all three types of data. However, these differences were not consistent for colony counts or other data along all transects, and the variability may have resulted from sun direction or other hinderances to observation. We have, therefore, attempted to make no adjustment in the data and have accepted them for analyses. There is also the possibility that, through chance alone, more colonies did occur along most transects on the left side than on the right, and that food and water conditions were also better.

Detailed analyses of the efficiency of the methods used and differences in results which may have been caused by the experience

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1. Beaver habitat may be expressed as (a) food quality and availability and (b) the physical characteristics and frequency of the bodies of water which they may inhabit. These will be referred to simply as classes and frequency of food and water in the remainder of the report.

of observers, weather conditions and other factors are presently being assessed. However, they are not included here and human or other errors in observation will not be considered factors influencing the analyses. It is doubtful that any corrections for these will influence the overall conclusions concerning the beaver resources for the Band area.

Also, it should be noted that the data are not extended to provide total colony estimates for each trapline. The validity of such estimates would be questionable because of the variability of food, water or other factors which may influence the occurrence of colonies within each trapline. These could not be predicted for areas that were not observed. Therefore, the results are given for the area actually observed and these may be used as indices of population densities among traplines.

RESULTS

Areas of traplines, transect lengths and the areas observed within each are given in Table 2:2. Data on food availability, according to the classification recorded in Table 2:1, are shown in Table 2:3. These are presented for the observed numbers of bodies of water in each trapline during the summer of 1969. Also, classifications of food availability on the observed areas along the transects have been extended to provide a broad assessment of food availability for the Band area as a whole, as shown in Figure 2:8. Data about densities of colonies in relation to area and frequency of water for each trapline in the years 1968, 1969 are given in Table 2:4. The locations of lodges in relation to the characteristics of water observations on which they were located are given in Table 2:5. Table 2:6 records the four classes of water along all transects, within and outside trapline boundaries. A comparison of these data with those presented in Table 2:5 are illustrated in Figure 2:10.

These tables and figures provide the basic data on which subsequent analyses and conclusions are based. The statistical validity of correlations in the data are provided in the sections on Discussion, Interpretation and Application.

Table 2:2 AREAS OF TRAPLINES, LENGTHS OF TRANSECTS AND AREAS OBSERVED DURING THREE SURVEYS, 1968 and 1969

Trap- line No.	Trapline area km ² (miles ²)	Transect lengths km (miles)		Area observed km ² (miles ²)	
		1968 fall	1969 summer	1968 fall	1969 summer
271	489 (189)	30.2(18.8)	46.7(29.0)	29.3(11.3)	45.0(17.4)
272	611 (236)	32.2(20.0)	67.6(42.0)	31.0(12.0)	65.2(25.2)
273	642 (248)	44.2(27.5)	77.2(48.0)	42.7(16.5)	74.6(28.8)
274	585 (226)	30.2(18.8)	56.3(35.0)	29.3(11.3)	54.4(21.0)
275	738 (285)	44.2(27.5)	91.7(57.0)	42.7(16.5)	88.5(34.2)
276	1005 (388)	60.3(37.5)	103.0(64.0)	58.3(22.5)	99.4(38.4)
277	611 (236)	40.2(25.0)	61.1(38.0)	38.8(15.0)	59.0(22.8)
278	834 (322)	36.2(22.5)	90.1(56.0)	34.9(13.5)	87.0(33.6)
279	976 (377)	34.3(21.3)	77.2(48.0)	33.1(12.8)	74.6(28.8)
280	585 (226)	30.2(18.8)	64.4(40.0)	29.3(11.3)	62.1(24.0)
281	608 (235)	34.3(21.3)	64.4(40.0)	33.1(12.8)	62.1(24.0)
282	932 (360)	46.3(28.8)	106.2(66.0)	44.8(17.3)	102.5(39.6)
283	999 (386)	62.4(38.8)	103.0(64.0)	60.3(23.3)	99.4(38.4)
284	658 (254)	40.2(25.0)	74.0(46.0)	38.8(15.0)	71.5(27.6)
285	476 (184)	24.1(15.0)	45.1(28.0)	23.3(9.0)	43.5(16.8)
286	1672 (646)	62.4(38.8)	169.0(105.0)	60.3(23.3)	163.1(63.0)
287	637 (246)	24.1(15.0)	48.3(30.0)	23.3(9.0)	46.6(18.0)
288	261 (101)	10.1(6.3)	27.4(17.0)	9.8(3.8)	26.4(10.2)
Totals - 13,319 (5,145)		686.1 (426.7)	1,372.7(853)	663.1(256.2)	1,324.9(511.8)
			1,169.6(732.8)		1,138.9(439.9)

Table 2:3. FREQUENCY OF THREE CLASSES OF FOOD ON TRAPLINES,
SUMMER 1969.

Trapline Number	Number of water bodies observed	Food Availability Class					
		I		II		III	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
271	52	34	(65)	8	(16)	10	(19)
272	77	25	(32)	14	(18)	38	(50)
273	46	29	(63)	10	(22)	7	(15)
274	56	26	(46)	12	(21)	18	(33)
275	75	44	(59)	16	(21)	15	(20)
276	121	29	(24)	17	(14)	75	(62)
277	47	29	(62)	6	(13)	12	(25)
278	108	49	(45)	21	(20)	38	(35)
279	100	39	(39)	14	(14)	47	(47)
280	57	41	(72)	7	(12)	9	(16)
281	89	36	(40)	19	(21)	34	(39)
282	114	63	(55)	16	(14)	35	(31)
283	105	69	(66)	15	(14)	21	(20)
284	81	31	(38)	17	(21)	33	(41)
285	63	19	(30)	3	(5)	41	(65)
286	105	87	(84)	9	(8)	9	(8)
287	36	23	(64)	6	(17)	7	(19)
288	31	23	(74)	4	(13)	4	(13)

Table 2:4 DENSITIES OF COLONIES IN RELATION TO AREA AND
FREQUENCY OF WATER IN THE AUTUMNS OF 1968 & 1969

Trapline Number	Colony count		Colonies per km ² (mile ²) (a)		Colonies per frequency of water (b)	
	1968	1969	1968	1969	1968	1969
271	12	21	* .41 (1.07)	* .49 (1.27)	* .38	* .40
272	12	3	* .39 (1.00)	* .15 (0.40)	* .30	* .04
273	12	30	* .28 (0.73)	.39 (1.00)	* .46	.65
274	13	-	* .45 (1.16)	** - -	* .45	** -
275	14	4	* .32 (0.84)	* .26 (0.67)	* .54	* .05
276	9	20	* .15 (0.40)	* .29 (0.74)	* .12	* .15
277	8	36	* .20 (0.53)	.58 (1.50)	* .31	.77
278	8	36	* .23 (0.59)	.41 (1.07)	* .17	.33
279	13	29	* .39 (1.02)	* .42 (1.10)	* .33	* .29
280	12	28	* .41 (1.07)	.45 (1.17)	* .33	.49
281	8	28	* .24 (0.63)	.44 (1.13)	* .17	.31
282	13	46	* .29 (0.75)	.45 (1.16)	* .24	.40
283	5	22	* .08 (0.22)	.22 (0.58)	* .06	.19
284	10	28	* .26 (0.67)	.37 (0.96)	* .21	.35
285	4	8	* .17 (0.44)	.19 (0.48)	* .15	.15
286	15	60	* .25 (0.65)	.37 (0.95)	* .28	.57
287	8	4	* .34 (0.89)	* .09 (0.23)	* .47	* .09
288	2	16	* .20 (0.53)	.45 (1.16)	* .22	.52
<u>Averages</u>						
Total lines completed			.28 (0.73)	.37 (0.95)	.29	.40
All lines			- -	.35 (0.91)	-	.34

(a) Data on area in Table 2:2 (also refer to Figure 2:7).

(b) Data on frequency of water in Table 2:3 (also refer to Figure 2:7).

* All transect lines within trapline not completed.

** Not surveyed

Table 2:5
 FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF COLONIES ON TRAPLINES
 IN RELATION TO CLASSES OF WATER, AUTUMN 1969

Trapline Number	Ponds, creeks & small rivers (slow current)		Large rivers (fast current)		Lakes (low sheltered shoreline)		Lakes (steep exposed shoreline)	
	No. of Colonies	%	No. of Colonies	%	No. of Colonies	%	No. of Colonies	%
* 271	19	90	0	0	2	10	0	0
* 272	2	67	0	0	1	33	0	0
273	29	97	0	0	1	3	0	0
** 274	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
* 275	4	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
* 276	11	55	0	0	9	45	0	0
277	34	94	0	0	2	6	0	0
278	24	67	0	0	10	28	2	5
* 279	19	66	0	0	9	31	1	3
280	23	82	0	0	5	18	0	0
281	19	68	0	0	6	21	3	11
282	28	61	0	0	15	33	3	6
283	13	59	0	0	5	23	4	18
284	26	93	0	0	2	7	0	0
285	4	50	0	0	4	50	0	0
286	50	83	0	0	10	17	0	0
* 287	4	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
288	15	94	0	0	1	6	0	0
<u>Averages</u>								
Total lines completed		78		0		18.5		3.5
All lines		78		0		19.5		2.5

* All transects within trapline not completed

** Not surveyed

FREQUENCY OF FOUR CLASSES OF WATER
ALONG TRANSECTS

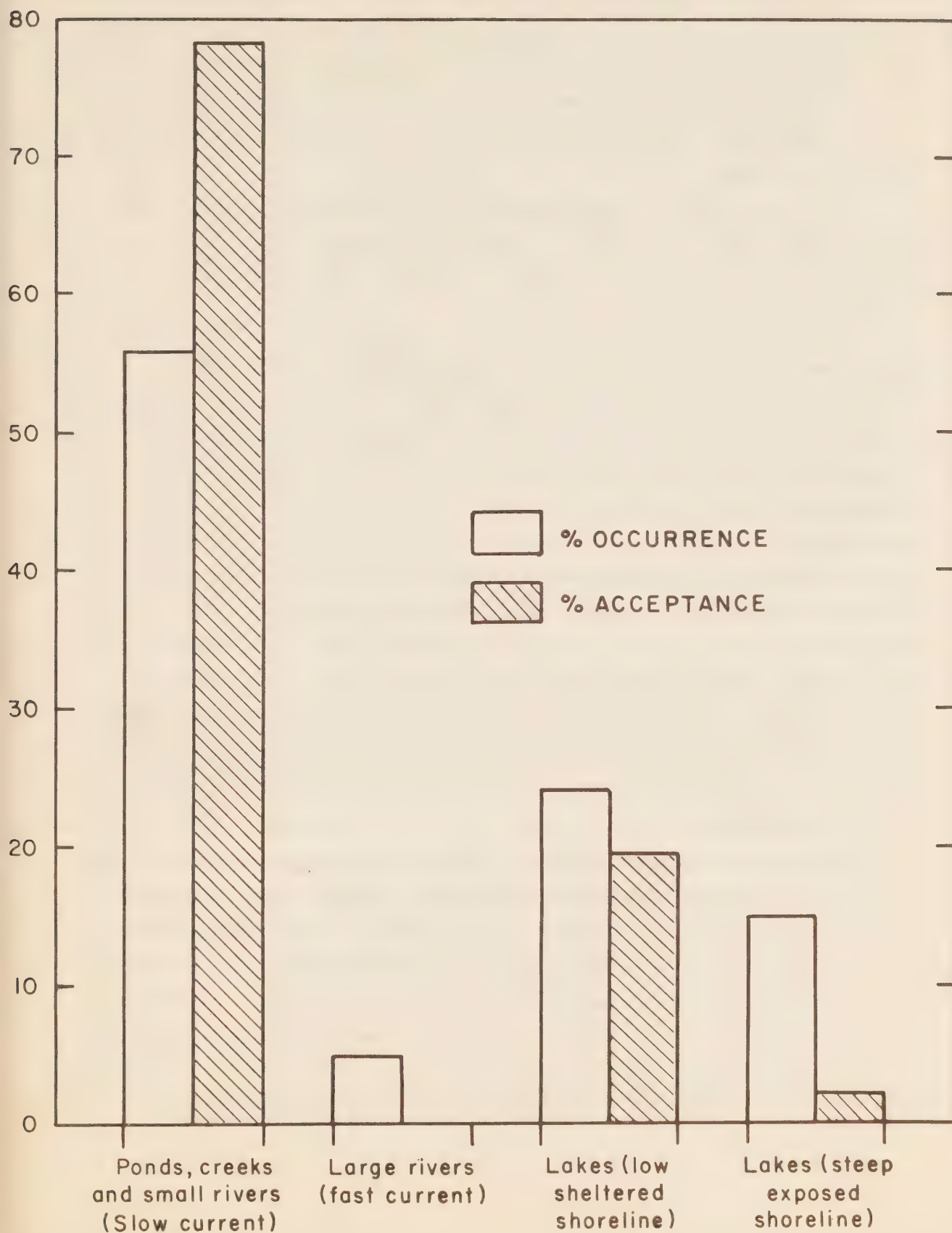
Table 2:6

Ponds, creeks and small rivers (slow current)		Large rivers (fast current)		Lakes (low sheltered shoreline)		Lakes (steep exposed shoreline)	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1089	56	81	5	436	24	267	15

DISCUSSION

In comparison to other areas of Patricia Central and West, which are nearing the northern edge of the Canadian Shield, but contain relatively large areas of muskeg, colony densities in the Round Lake Band area show similarities. For the area as a whole, as shown in Table 2:4, colonies per frequency of water were .29 in 1968. Lessard (1968) found a density, based on colonies per frequency of water, of .25 for transects totalling 2,103 km (1,307 miles) in the Sandy-Deer Lake Band areas west and southwest of the Round Lake Band area in 1968. In the Osnaburgh-Savant Lake Band southeast of Round Lake, Lessard (1968) recorded an average density, based on colonies per frequency of water, of .32 over transects totalling 1,224 km (761 miles). Data from transects flown west from Big Trout Lake to the Manitoba border showed densities of .27 (.70) colonies per km^2 (mile^2) over habitat similar in most respects to that found in the Round Lake Band area (Standfield 1968). In the latter, densities were .28 (.73) per km^2 (mile^2) in the fall of 1968 (Table 2:4).

Fig. 2:9 FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF FOUR CLASSES OF WATER OBSERVED ALONG ALL TRANSECTS AND THEIR ACCEPTANCE BY BEAVER



POPULATION VARIABILITY WITHIN THE BAND AREA

In Table 2:4 densities of populations for each trapline were expressed relative to area and also to the frequency of water. Although it is more meaningful from a management point of view to express densities in terms of area, we were aware that some parts of the area may have provided more water than others and therefore would have higher relative densities per area.

Also, differences in the degree of sampling might change the relationship between densities per area vs. densities per frequency of water.

When the data, densities per area vs. densities per water between years, were analyzed by a sign rank test, there was a very high correlation between area and frequency of water for the 11 of the 18 transects which were completed in both years ($\infty.05=11$). This correlation decreased as sample size increased, but still remained significant. However, for two of the traplines where transects were not completed in 1969 (Nos. 275 and 287) the correlation was poor. Also traplines Nos. 273 and 277 showed extreme variation from the correlation between years, probably because of intensity of sampling. These discrepancies from the correlation for the majority of traplines cannot be discounted and have been taken into account in the interpretation of the results. However, the assessment of population densities among traplines in the Band area can be expressed best on the basis of area, in order to fit data collected from other research reported in the Round Lake Study.

Since the colony estimates for traplines were based on two surveys, a year apart, and on different sample sizes, the data were analyzed to account for variability between years. As shown in Table 2:4 average densities per km^2 (mile^2) were .28 (.73) in 1968 and .37 (.95) in 1969. Statistically this difference was highly significant ($t.01 > 3.169$). Similarly, differences in densities per water were statistically significant between years. This apparent increase in density may have originated because of one or more of three variables: (a) observer efficiency

between years (b) sample size (c) real population changes over the area as a whole.

Analysis showed that on the basis of individual traplines there was no consistency in differences between years. This suggested strongly that differences in observer efficiency were not responsible factors. Similarly, differences between years for individual traplines were not always proportionate to the increase in sample size. Regression analyses showed values which were insignificant. ($F < 1$).

We concluded, therefore, that the recorded increases in density for the area as a whole indicated a population increase from 1968 to 1969.

Analyses of data from 11 of the 18 traplines in which alternate transects were completed in 1968 and all of those transects completed in 1969 showed great variation in densities between years. The mean density (colonies per mile²) for 1968 was $.2373 \pm .05636$. In 1969 it was $.3927 \pm .07512$.¹ On the basis of variation about the mean three classes of population density (above, within and below the limits of the mean ($\pm 1S$)) are used to rank traplines in three classes (I-high, II-moderate, III-low) for 1968 and 1969, as shown in Figure 2:10 and Table 2:7.

It has been shown above that there was an increase in population density over the Band area generally. However, there was variation among individual traplines. Eleven of the 17 traplines surveyed in the fall of 1969 showed an increase comparable to the area as a whole. Five apparently decreased relative to the overall change. Of these, traplines Nos. 272, 275, 279, 287, are along the southern portion of the Band Area and the results may have been influenced because transects within these lines were incomplete. The fifth, trapline No. 280, probably was not influenced by sample size and the relative decrease was apparently real. Only one trapline, No. 277, showed an

1. These means do not agree with those shown on Table 2:4 because of the necessary reduction in the number of traplines used in the above calculations.

increase greater than the area as a whole. This could have been influenced by an increase in sample size from 1968 to 1969.

DISTRIBUTION OF COLONIES IN RELATION TO FOOD

The distribution of three classes of food, as compiled in Table 2:1, is shown by traplines in Table 2:3. Additionally, they are illustrated for the Band Area as a whole in Figure 2:8. A fourth area is shown in Figure 2:8 in which the observations were so mixed that definite classes could not be mapped.

On the basis of individual colony observations relative to food class no correlation could be found. This was demonstrated in the 1968 data by Smith (1968) and Raymond (1968) independently. This lack of correlation is probably caused by two factors:

(a) The volumes and quality of food as shown in Table 2:1 have little relation to the selection of a colony site by beavers in any one year. Simply, sufficient food for one year has as high a rating to a beaver as sufficient food for a decade or more. Over the years, as food supplies decrease colonies move to more attractive areas. This frequent movement of colonies, over varying distances, has been commonly observed in many studies. However, those colonies established in areas rated as having a high food classification will probably remain more stable than those occupying areas of lower food classification. We might expect therefore that traplines showing the higher food classification (Figure 2:8) will maintain a relatively consistent population density.

(b) There is a decided preference for certain physical qualities of water which may override the relative availability of food.

DISTRIBUTION OF COLONIES IN RELATION TO PHYSICAL QUALITIES OF WATER

The data in Table 2:5 show that colonies throughout the Band Area as a whole occurred principally in ponds, creeks and rivers with slow currents. The actual occurrences of the four classes of water along all transects, as taken from the 1969 summer observations, Table 2:3 and map counts, are shown in Table 2:6. The pond, creek and river (slow current) class was preferred. Lakes with low and sheltered shorelines

were second in preference. Lakes with high, steep shorelines, which were probably affected by wave and ice action, were infrequently used as sites for colonies. Rivers with fast currents scored the lowest (zero), probably because of flooding and ice action during spring break-up. The relationship between the occurrence of the four classes and their occupancy by beaver are illustrated in Figure 2:9.

INTERPRETATION AND APPLICATION

The above presentation is of biological interest and necessary for an understanding of the potential of the resource. It is our purpose in this concluding section to interpret these data so that they are useful in relating all aspects of the Round Lake Study.

As shown on page 54, the densities of beaver colonies in the Round Lake Band area as a whole are comparable to those found in other surveyed areas of the northern edge of the Canadian Shield in Patricia Central and West. Densities averaged .28 (.73) in 1968 and .37 (.95) in 1969 per km^2 (mile^2). These are substantially lower than the average for Algonquin Park over a nine year period, .56 (1.32) per km^2 (mile^2), (Standfield, 1968). Other areas of southern Ontario also contain higher densities but the average for the Round Lake area is above that for the Severn and Winisk Band areas (Standfield, unpublished data).

Using the density of .28 (.73) colonies per km^2 (mile^2) as a mean for the observed area as a whole we estimate that there are probably 1.40 beaver per km^2 (3.65 per mile^2).¹

Within the Band Area there was an increase in colony density from 1968 to 1969 of about 32%. Populations are now considered to be high in the Severn and Winisk drainages. Although densities now are considered to be relatively stable for the area as a whole, fluctuations are known to occur annually and regionally around this dynamic upper limit. Similar fluctuations about high levels of density have been noted for other regions surrounding the Round Lake Band area. These fluctuations in numbers are to be expected but they indicate clearly that during the

1. This is based on numerous studies which estimated that an average colony contains 5 beavers.

1968-69 trapping season the trappers did not affect the population as a whole.

The probability is that all traplines in the Band Area had increased populations. Those showing relatively lower populations in 1969, as compared to 1968 were all in the southern region where the degree of sampling in the fall of 1969 may have resulted in an apparent but not real decline.

From the data in Table 2:4 and calculations recorded on page 57 traplines may be ranked as to density. However, it may be sufficient to classify them, on the basis of colonies per mile² as Class I (1968 - .30+, 1969 - .48+), Class II (1968 - .18-.29, 1969 - .32-.47), Class III (1968 - .17 - , 1969 - .31 -), keeping in mind that these classifications are relative and that Class III does not necessarily indicate a poor trapline. These are shown in Table 2:7 and illustrated in Figure 2:10.

Table 2:7 DISTRIBUTION OF TRAPLINES ACCORDING TO THREE COLONY DENSITY CLASSES FOR THE FALLS OF 1968, 1969.

	Class I		Class II		Class III	
	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>
Trapline	271	271	273	273	276	272
	272	277	277	278	283	275
	274		278	279	285	276
	275		281	280		283
	279		282	281		285
	280		284	282		287
	287		286	284		
			288	286		
				288		

Considerations about long term carrying capacity as it relates to food have been presented in the Discussion, and data are shown in Table 2:3 and Figure 2:8. The lack of correlation of colony distribution with food quality is of biological interest principally. However, the distribution of three classes of food, as shown in Figure 2:8 may, as was noted on page 59, have a direct bearing on the maintenance of populations over the long term. One would expect that traplines with

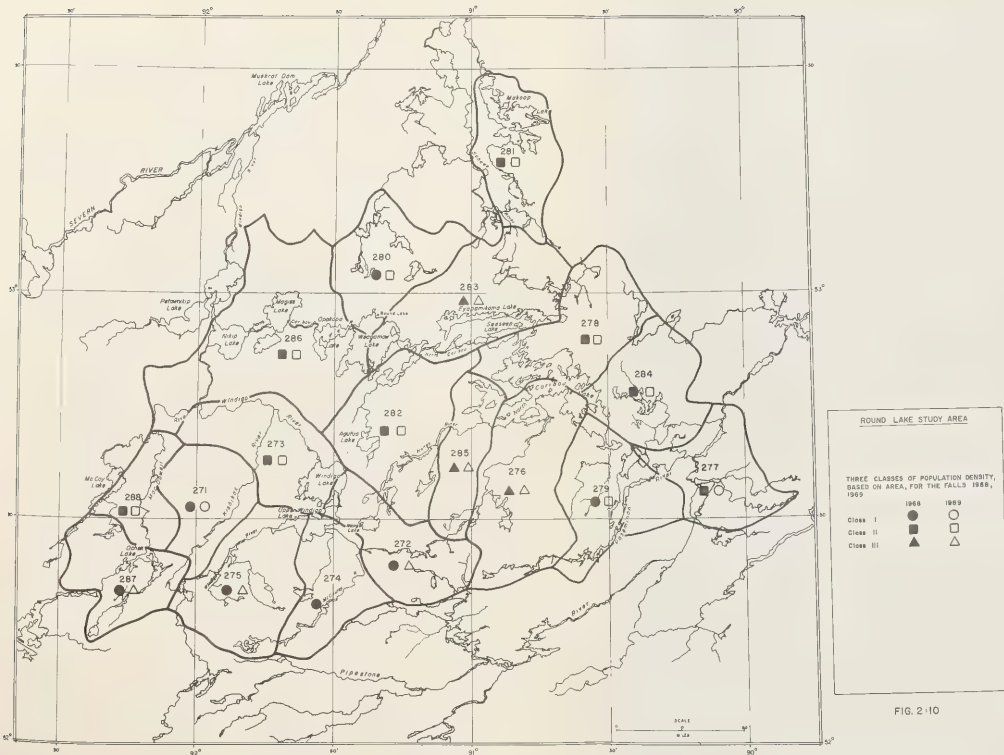


FIG. 2-10

the higher food classification would provide continuing high production of beaver, barring epizootics of tularemia or other catastrophies.

Similarly, it has been shown in Tables 2:5 and 2:6, Figure 2:9 and on page 59, that ponds, creeks and rivers with slow currents were preferred as colony sites by beaver. Lakes with steep exposed shore-lines were seldom occupied. Rivers with swift currents contained no colonies.

The distribution of these latter, poor water classes are readily apparent on topographical maps (Scale 1:250,000) and their relationships to individual traplines can be easily assessed.

There are no indications in any of the data or analyses that any trapline in the Round Lake Band area provides a meagre beaver resource. On the contrary, populations could withstand a much higher trapping effort. Such an increase in trapping pressure would assist in the maintenance of healthy beaver populations over long periods.

Increased production would be biologically and economically advantageous. Among the recommendations which may be made to achieve this would be the formation of cooperating groups of trappers, similar to the cooperative arrangements for commercial fishing. Present trends in education, health facilities, etc., in the Round Lake village may have removed much of the traditional family participation in trapping so the existing division of the Band Area into family-held traplines is no longer valid as an efficient and equitable basis for harvesting fur resources.

Acknowledgment: We wish to thank the several members of the Provincial Air Service and the Fish and Wildlife Branch who participated in this study. M. Novak, of the Fish and Wildlife Branch, contributed substantially to our interpretation of results. Dr. F. Raymond, of the Research Branch, provided valuable assistance in the statistical analyses.

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CHAPTER 7FUR HARVEST ANALYSIS

Prepared by J. Watts from Information
Supplied by

J. Shannon
Fish and Wildlife Branch

INTRODUCTION

The trapping of fur bearers has long been an important economic activity to the people of the Round Lake area. It has utilized one of the few resources that a small group of people with simple technology could exploit economically from an isolated location. Although conditions have changed somewhat, in that the village has become less isolated and more advanced technologically, the fact remains that fur retains its position as a prime resource for these people. The position of trapping as an occupation in the future is therefore a major concern of this study. In an attempt to evaluate the variety of circumstances — environmental, social and economic — which may influence the future of trapping, we have turned to an investigation of what has affected it in the past, and in other areas.

In 1947 the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests introduced a fur management program. As part of the program trapping territories were established, quotas were set, and a system of tagging before sale of the pelts of major species was instituted. The tagging of pelts made possible the collection of data on fur harvests for each trapline. These records have provided an important part of the background data for the Fur Harvest Analysis.

The analysis of fur harvest returns was undertaken in two parts. In part A, the returns for the Round Lake trappers over a 19-year period were analyzed to determine trends in trapper activity, harvests and income. In part B, the Round Lake trappers were compared to the trappers of three selected areas. The purpose of this comparison was to evaluate the efficiency of the Round Lake trapper relative to others, and/or to determine the effect of alternate sources of income upon trapping activity.

Part A FUR HARVEST ANALYSIS OF ROUND LAKE BAND AREA 1949 - 1967

The period selected for analysis covers the time from the establishment of the Hudson Bay store at Round Lake (the beginning of the present village) until the commencement of this study in 1968.

The trapping area used by the Round Lake trappers is divided among eighteen registered traplines. The establishment of these trapping territories was based as closely as possible upon traditional trapping areas. Although Figure 2:11 indicates definite boundaries between traplines these are not strictly adhered to by the trappers. The number of trappers utilizing the area assigned to each trapline varies not only from one trapline to another, but possibly from one year to another on the individual trapline. The trapper does not always trap on his own trapline. He may, with the permission of the "owner", trap on another line. This does not show up in the fur returns, as his harvest is reported to his own licence and trapline number. It is not known how frequently this occurs. As will be discussed later, it has presented a problem in this analysis.

METHOD

Raw data were taken from the T-14 forms of the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests which gave individual trapper's yearly fur returns by species for each trapline. This information was transferred to forms which show the fur returns for each species for the entire period 1949 - 1967, i.e. one sheet for each species for every trapline.

The value of the fur harvest was based on figures from the Ontario Trappers' Association and the Lands and Forests summary of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. An average annual price was used for each species.

The traplines vary considerably in size. In order for comparisons between traplines to be made in this analysis, material is presented where necessary on a square mile basis.

HARVEST OF FUR BEARERS

Major Fur Bearers By Volume of Harvest: Table 2:8 provides information on the average annual harvest per square mile for each species.

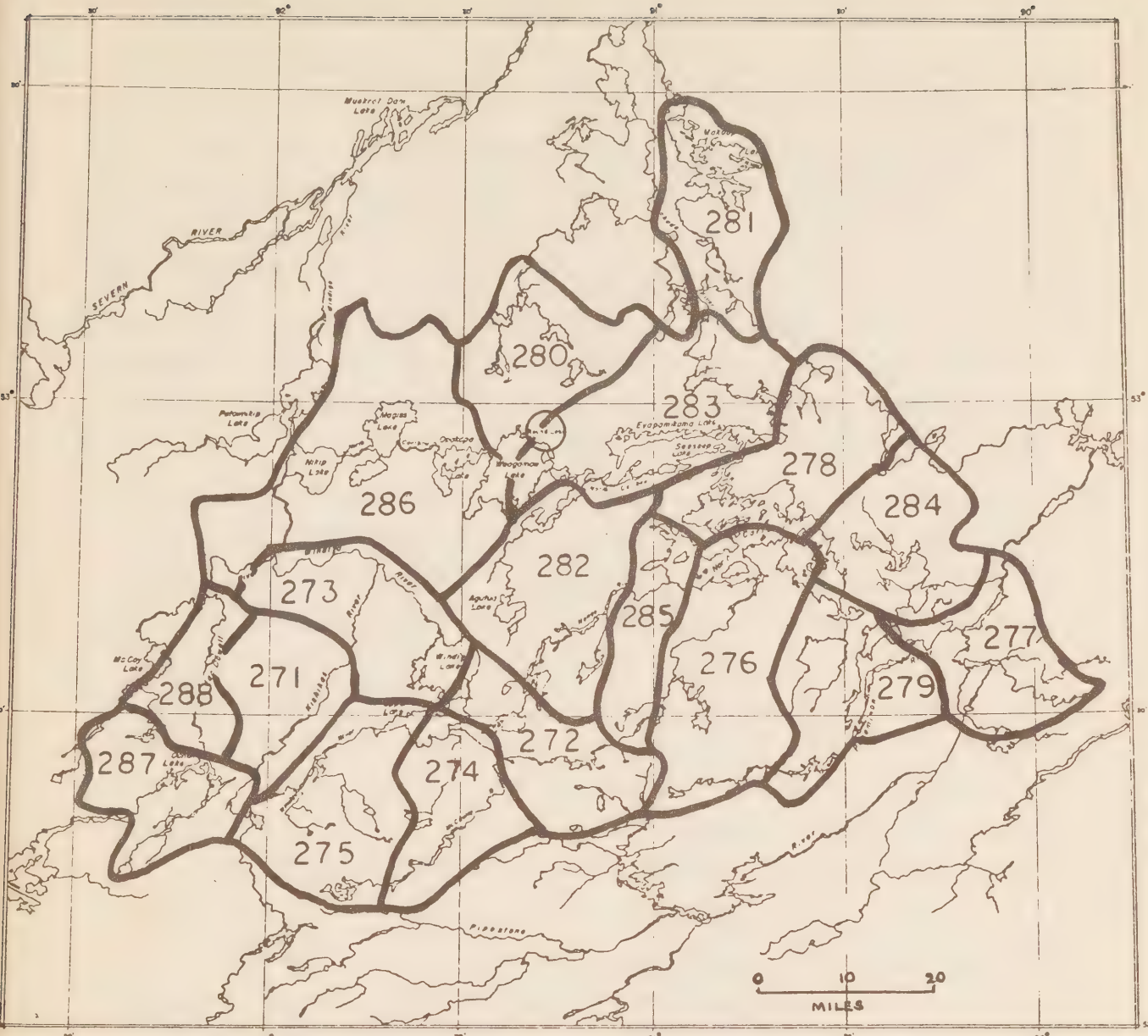


Figure 2:11 REGISTERED TRAPLINE AREAS
ROUND LAKE BAND

Muskrat, the largest harvest on all traplines, accounted for 48.9% of the total harvest of all species. Beaver and mink accounted for 17.4% and 12.6% of the harvest respectively.

Areal Variations in Harvest: In order to relate the productivity of one trapline to another, the area of highest production (Trapline #287) was assigned an arbitrary value of 10. The relative production of the other areas is therefore some value between 0 and 10 (Table 2:8).

Since other studies of the Round Lake area are related particularly to beaver, this species is considered separately. The relative beaver production was calculated in the same way as above (here, the highest value is on Trapline #271)(Table 2:8).

Using this scale, maps showing the reported relative productivity (harvest) of each trapline for all species and for beaver alone were prepared. These maps (Figures 2:12 and 2:13) reveal some interesting patterns. An area of relatively high productivity for all species, and also for beaver is apparent in the southwest corner; a second smaller area appears on the eastern edge of the area. Recorded beaver harvests are low, relative to the whole area, in a broad zone around the Round Lake settlement. A broken band of relatively low harvest for all species runs from the northwest corner across the area to the southeast. A discussion of these areal differences will be undertaken later.

Trends in Fur Harvest: The fur harvest for all species shows broad fluctuations over the 19-year period as indicated in Figure 2:14. Considering the period as a whole, there has been a decline in harvest from the high of 6900 pelts in 1949. In view of the wide fluctuations, it is difficult to determine from the figures alone whether a trend to lower harvests is underway or whether 1949 represented the peak of a period of rising harvests.

In order to observe trends in the harvest of the major species, the total number of pelts taken each year for beaver, muskrat and mink were plotted. A period of declining beaver harvest is noticeable in the 1950's, reaching a low point in 1960 after which a steady increase occurred until 1966. The mink harvest, although showing fluctuations, has remained

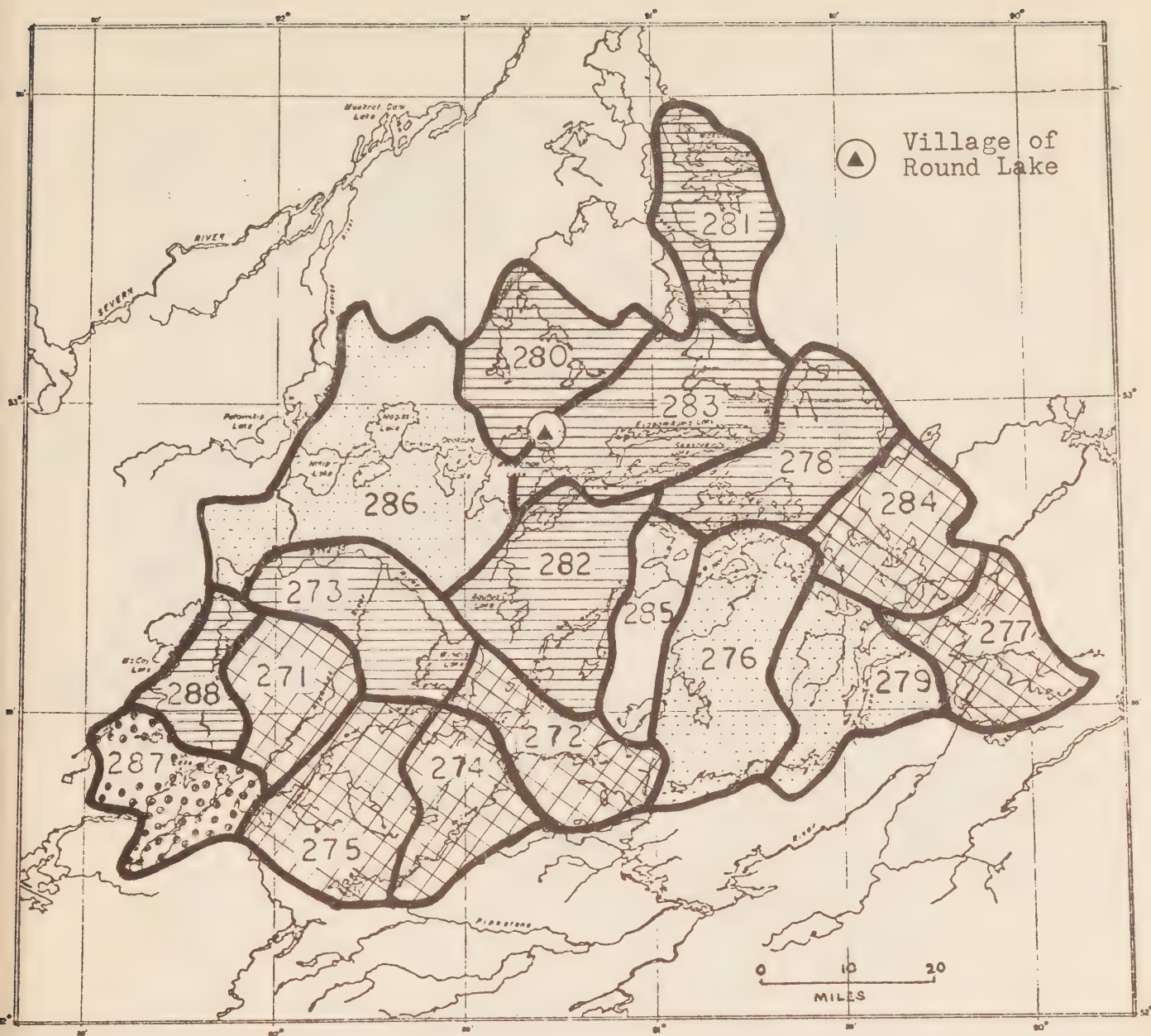
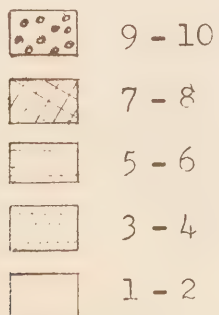


Figure 2:12 AVERAGE ANNUAL HARVEST PER SQUARE MILE
All Species 1949 - 1967



(1.483 per sq. mi. = 10)

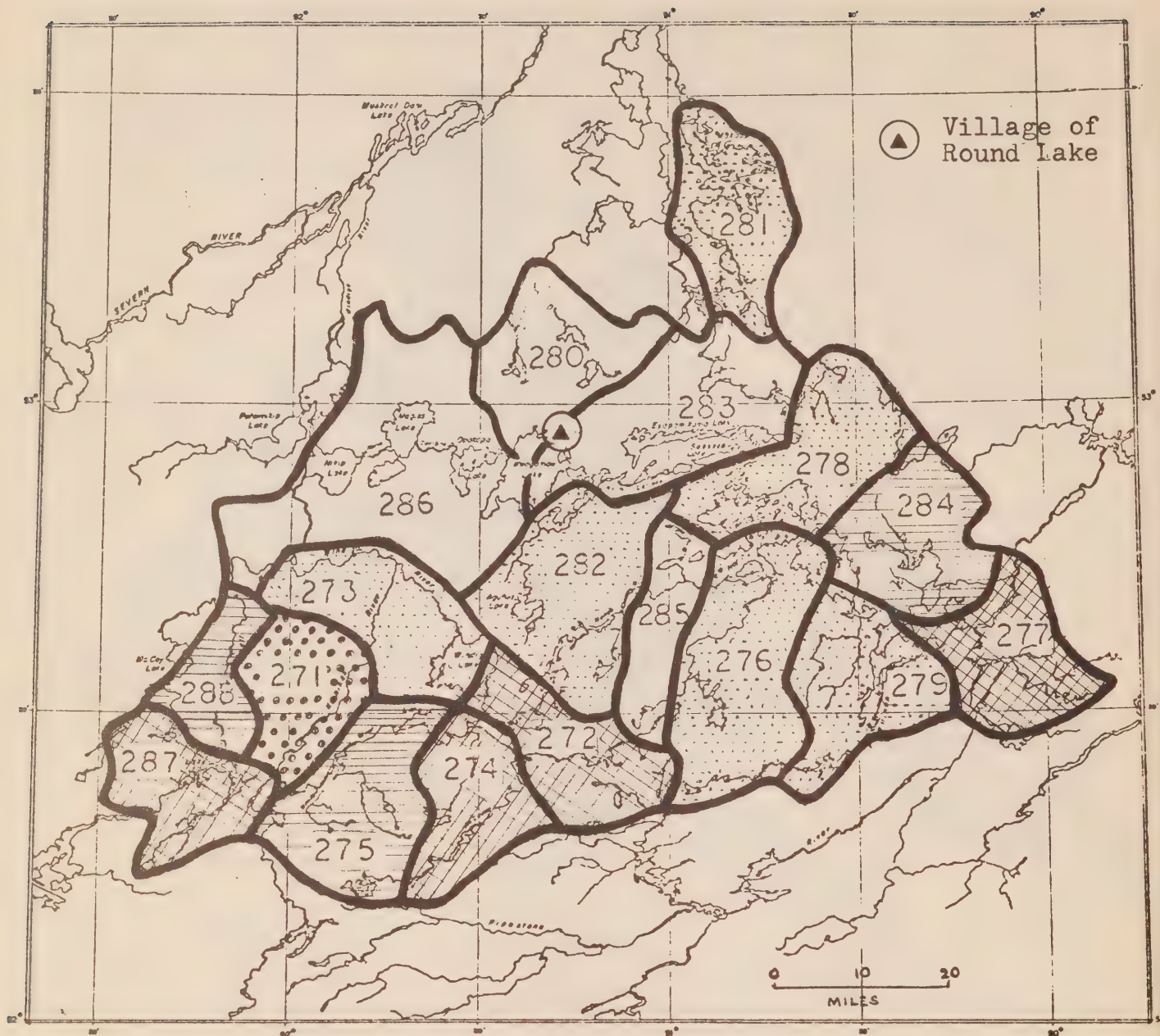
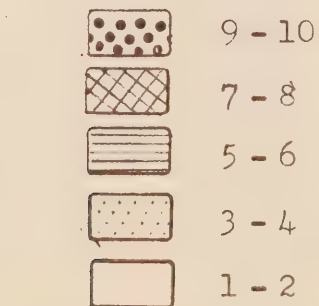
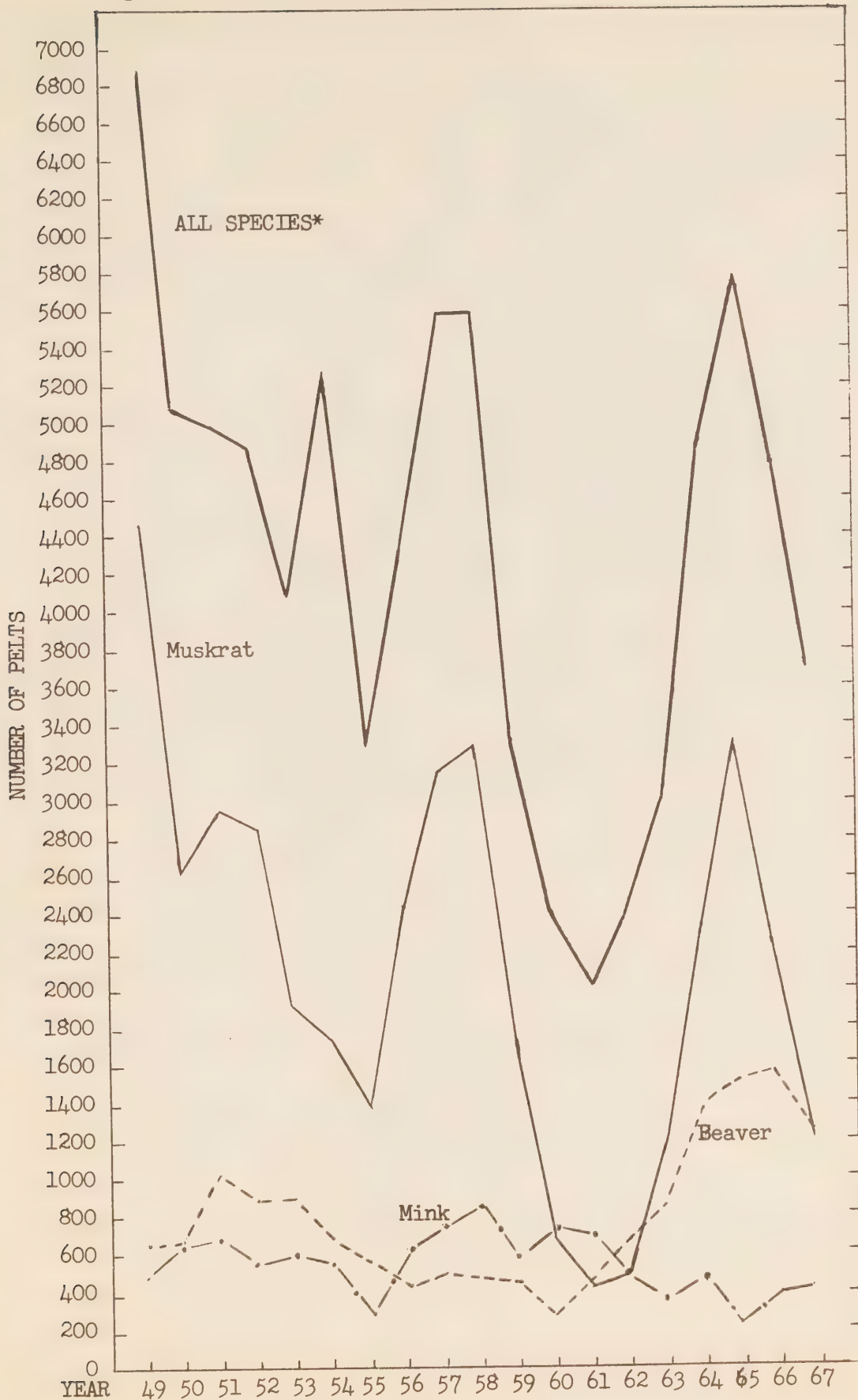


Figure 2:13 AVERAGE ANNUAL HARVEST PER SQUARE MILE
BEAVER 1949 - 1967



(.354 per sq. mi. = 10)

Figure 2:14 TOTAL HARVEST 1949 - 1967



* Includes beaver, fisher, fox, lynx, mink, muskrat, otter, squirrel and weasel

relatively stable for the period as a whole. Muskrat harvests have fluctuated widely and were lower than in 1949 throughout the period. The fluctuations in total harvest for all species are obviously attributable in large degree to the changes in muskrat harvest, as is the apparent decline in total harvest. Reliable data are not available for the period prior to 1949. Therefore, it cannot be stated that harvests have shown an overall decline. The possibility exists that 1949 was an exceptionally productive year and that harvests were abnormally high.

VALUE OF THE FUR HARVEST

Major Species by Value: The average annual value of furs by trapline is shown in Table 2:9. On the majority of traplines (14 of 18) beaver is the most valuable species followed by mink, otter and muskrat, in order of importance. Together, beaver and mink account for nearly 75% of the total value of the harvest.

Areal Variations in Value: To show the relative value for each trapline, the dollar value per square mile has been mapped for all species (Figure 2:15). A pattern similar to that noticed in the maps of harvests for beaver and all species is apparent; the southwestern and eastern sections show the highest value, and a broken belt of lower value runs from the northwest to the southeast.

Trends in Value of Fur Harvest: Figure 2:16 indicates that the value of the fur harvest has not only fluctuated over the 19-year period but has shown considerable overall decline. This decrease is accounted for by a decline in harvest (which was largely due to the decrease in the low value muskrat harvest), and to decreases in the average price of furs as indicated below. As the lower prices have not been off-set

	<u>Beaver</u>	<u>Mink</u>	<u>Muskrat</u>
1950	\$23.63	\$27.45	\$2.04
1960	10.70	8.35	.54
1967	16.84	10.01	.99

by larger harvests per square mile as indicated earlier, the total value of the fur harvest has declined.

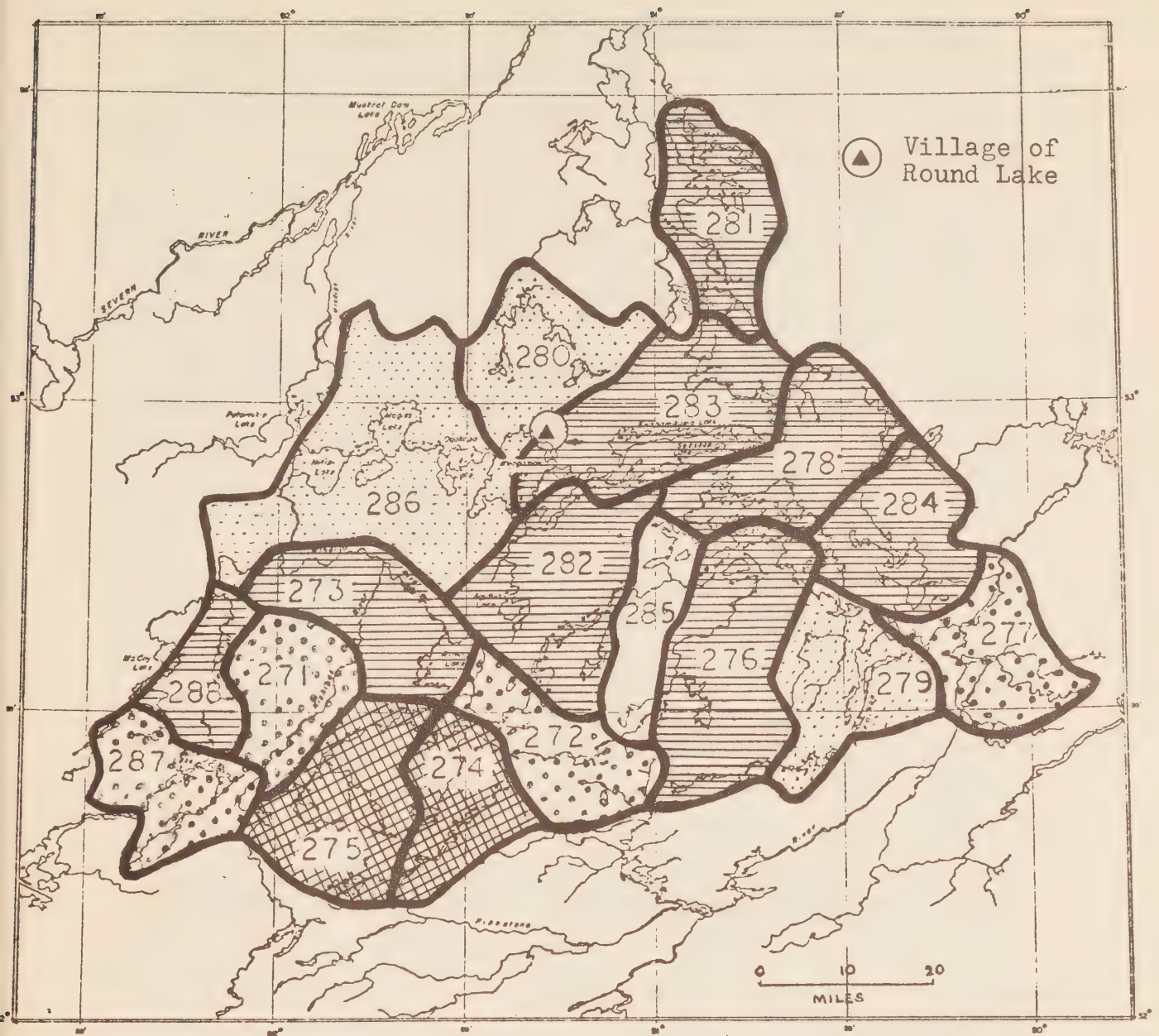
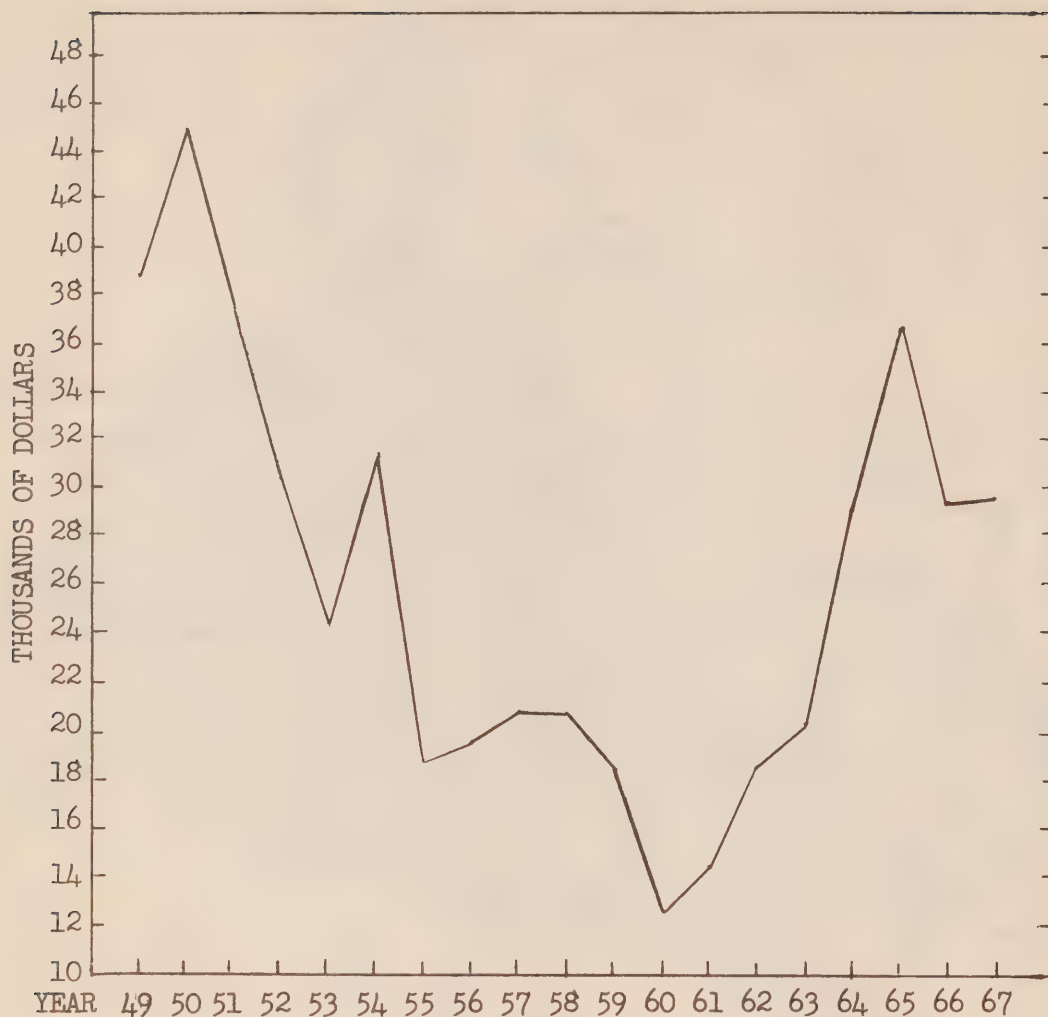


Figure 2:15 AVERAGE ANNUAL VALUE OF FUR HARVEST
1949 - 1967



Figure 2:16 · TOTAL VALUE OF THE FUR HARVEST
1949 - 1967



TRAPPER ACTIVITY

As stated previously, trapping has long been a major activity for the Round Lake men. In the early part of the 19-year period there was little alternate employment available and government aid was minimal. During the latter part of the period, commercial fishing, some village jobs, and a variety of government allowances and payments were available. It might be expected that these developments would have some effect on the number of trappers going to the traplines, and the intensity of trapping effort.

Number of Trappers: Table 2:10 gives information on the number of trappers active each year since 1949. A general downward trend is apparent during the 1950's, an upward trend beginning in 1960. Considering the period as a whole, there has been no overall decline in the total number of active trappers. However, the total population of the village has increased considerably -- from 216 in 1949 (Rogers 1962) to 357 in 1968. A consideration of the percentage of adult males actively engaged in trapping shows a somewhat different picture.

Percentage of Adult Males Trapping: Relating the number of active trappers to the number of males over 14 years of age, the following percentages are obtained¹:

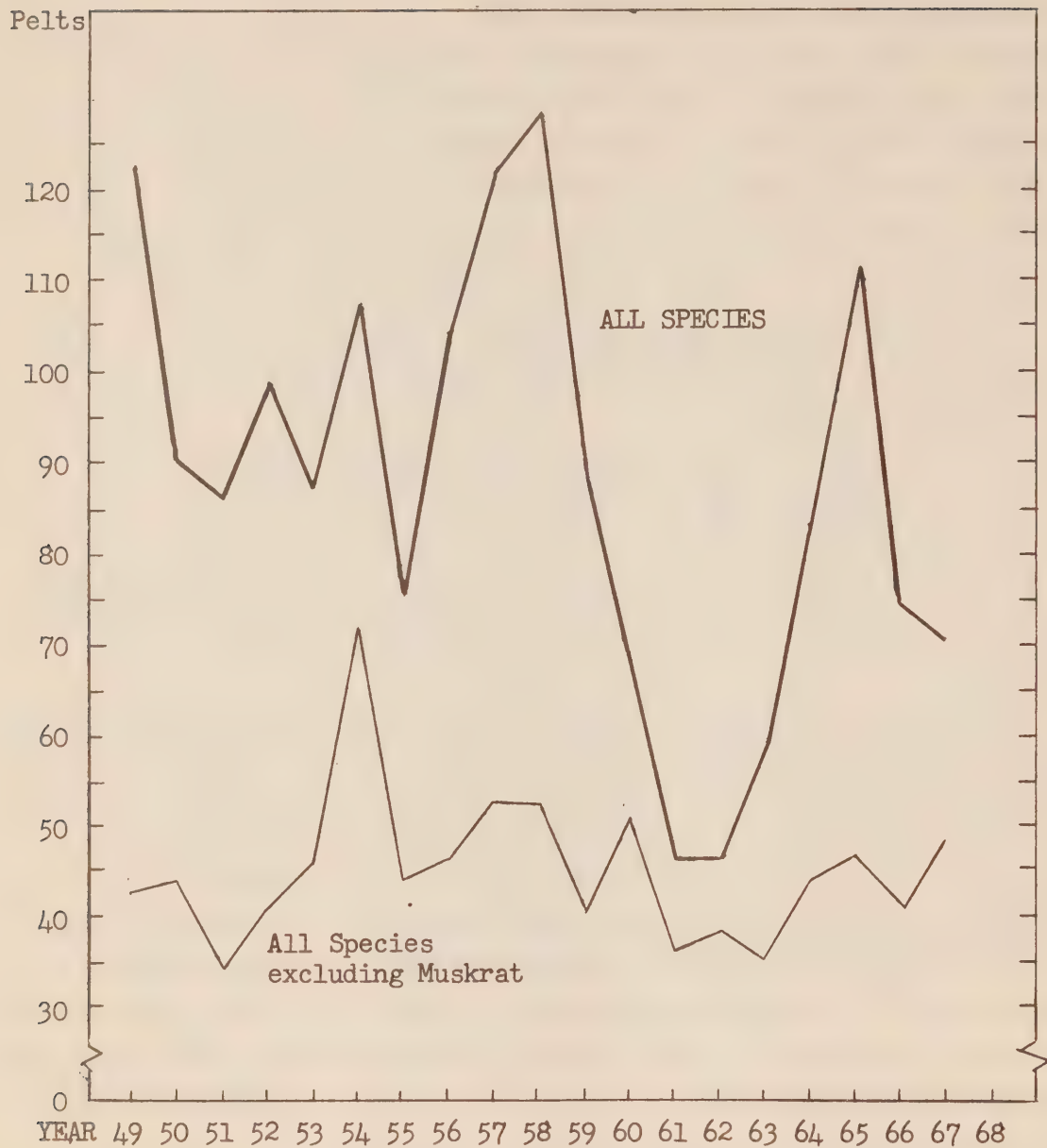
1949	- 95%	of males over 14 years trapping
1958-9	- 80%	" " " " " "
1968-9	- 69%	" " " " " "

It is thus apparent that although the total number of trappers has not shown an overall decline, the percentage of males who trap is dropping.

Intensity of Trapping: Three factors influence the pelt production of the individual trapper -- the availability of fur, the efficiency of the trapper and the effort expended by the trapper. Assuming that the first two remain constant, one means of assessing a change in the intensity of trapping by the individual trapper is to consider changes in the harvest per trapper. The number of pelts per trapper for all species and for all species exclusive of muskrat² is shown in Figure 2:17. There does not appear to be an overall decline in the harvest per trapper when muskrat are excluded.

-
- 1 Data obtained from Rogers (1962) and Dr. Black's ethnological report (Part III).
 - 2 Muskrat have been excluded for several reasons: they are trapped in the spring, not during the regular trapping season; all trappers do not spring trap, and some older men that no longer trap in fall and winter, do go out after muskrat; to include them gives an inaccurate picture of trends for regular trappers in the two most economically important furs -- beaver and mink.

Figure 2:17 NUMBER OF PELTS PER TRAPPER
1949 - 1967

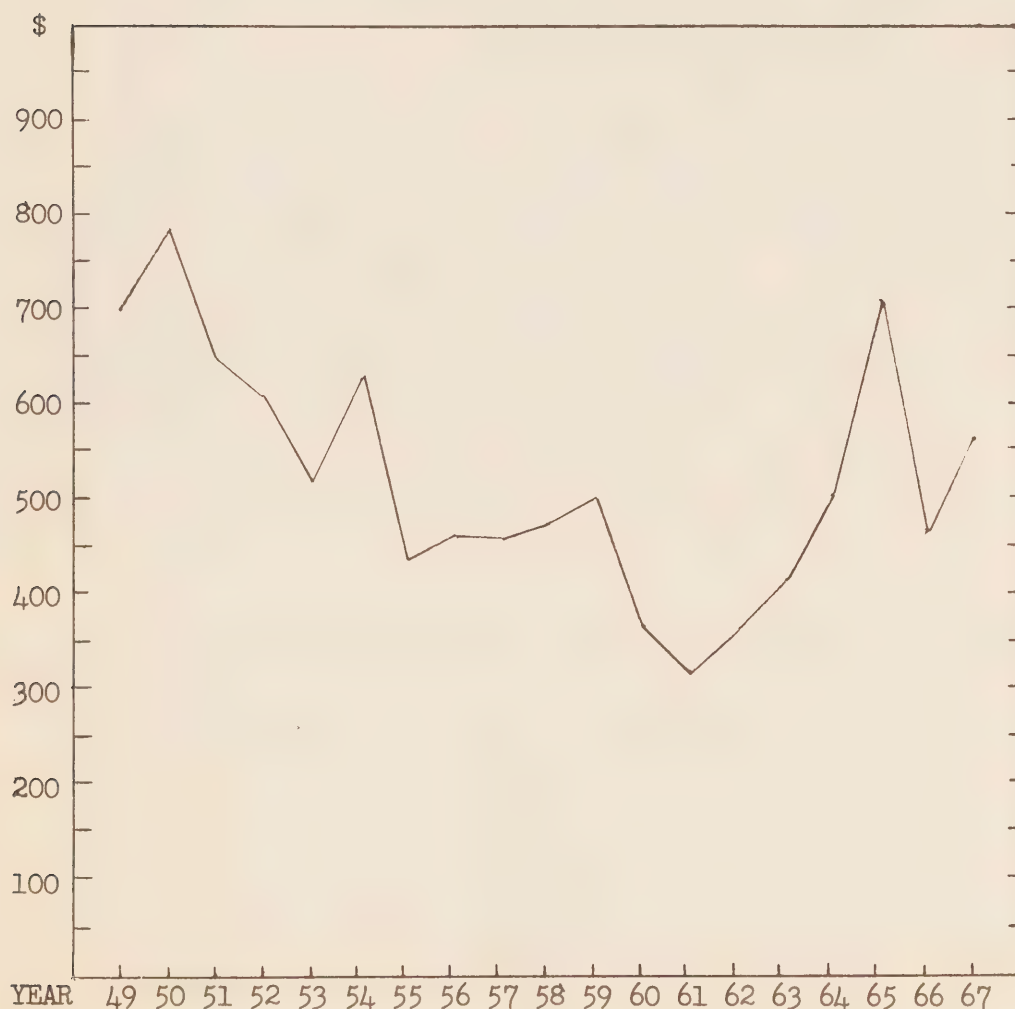


As indicated previously, a period of declining beaver harvests in the 1950's was paralleled by a decline in trapper activity. Those trappers that continued to trap appeared to offset the lower beaver harvests by taking more mink. Although the total number of pelts per trapper showed an overall decrease, much of this is accounted for by a decline in the low value muskrat.

INCOME PER TRAPPER

Figure 2:18 indicates that per trapper income decreased from a high of approximately \$800 in 1950 to a low of \$325 in 1961. This decline in income was largely due to a drop in the average price of fur, although as indicated previously there was also a drop in the harvests per trapper during that period. The increase in earnings per trapper following 1961 is a reflection of both rising fur prices and increased per trapper harvests.

Figure 2:18 ANNUAL INCOME PER TRAPPER
1949 - 1967



TRAPPER DENSITY

In discussing areal differences in harvest, and trends in fur production it is important to consider the effect of the number of men trapping an area, that is the trapper density. The density per square mile for each trapline was determined by dividing the average number of trappers who had trapped it over the 19-year period by the area of the trapline (Table 2:10). This is converted to a relative scale where the highest density (.017 per square mile in Trapline 277) is given a value of 10. Using this scale, Figure 2:19 was prepared. Three areas of relatively high density are apparent — one in the area central to the village, one in the eastern corner and one along the southern edge. Low trapper densities appear in the northwest and southeastern sections.

DISCUSSION

Trends in fur harvests, value of the harvest, trapper activity and trapper income have been noted. The inter-relationships and causes will now be discussed.

Significance of Areal Variations in Harvests: Variations in harvest from one trapline to another may be a reflection of differences in densities of furbearer populations, ease of access, or in the activity and efficiency of trappers utilizing the area. It is important to know if an area is being over or under-trapped relative to the capability of the fur resource for that area. •

Research on fur bearers in this study was of necessity limited to beaver. A discussion of the relationship of fur harvest to habitat and population densities therefore will be limited largely to beaver.

Figure 2:13 revealed a general pattern of declining beaver harvests from the peripheral sections of the Band Area towards the area central to the village. Harvests were lowest on those traplines adjacent to the village. This would suggest (a) low trapper activity, (b) depletion of the beaver resource from over-trapping or, (c) persistently low beaver populations. The plausibility of each will be examined.

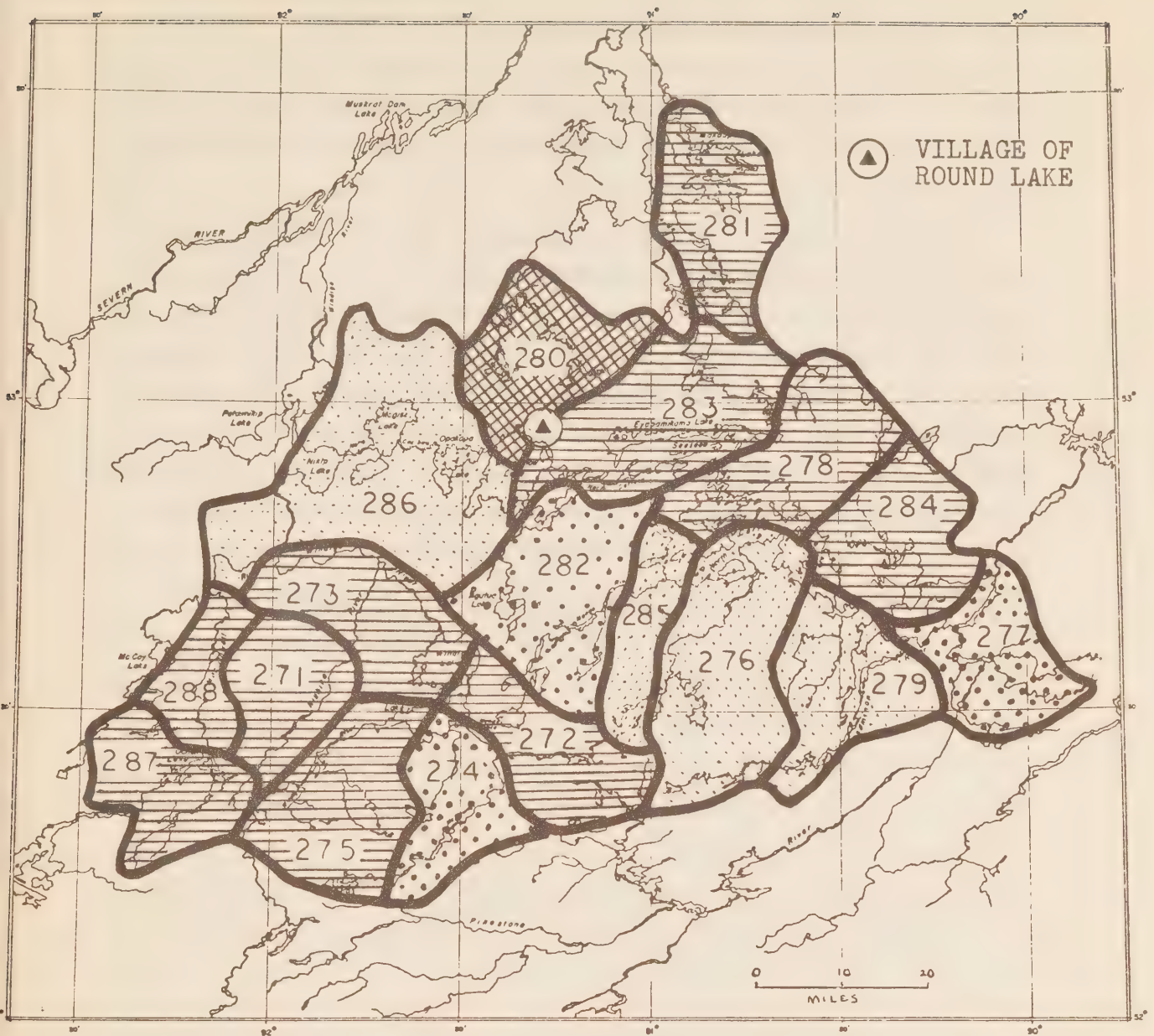
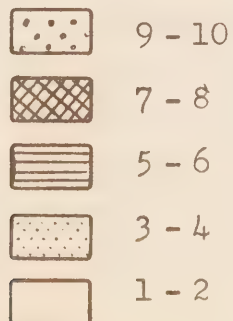


Figure 2:19

TRAPPER DENSITY
1949 - 1967



(.017 per sq. mi. = 10)

(a) It would be illogical to expect that there would be fewer trappers working the most accessible traplines near the village, unless the resource was near depletion in that area. The map showing trapper density (Figure 2:19) indicates that with the exception of Trapline 286, trapper density was fairly high.

(b) Reference to Figure 2:10 indicates that beaver populations have not been depleted in the areas adjacent to the village. Only Trapline 283 has a Class III density. (It should be pointed out that the classification is a relative one; Class III does not necessarily indicate that there are few beaver. Indeed, Standfield and Smith found that no area had a meagre beaver resource and that during the 1968-70 period, densities of beaver population had increased, indicating that trappers may not have influenced the beaver populations as a whole (page 61)). There does, however, appear to be a general increase in beaver density toward the peripheral areas. This could support the idea of heavier trapping around the village.

Beaver research in other areas of the Province indicates that in areas where trapping is heavy and adjacent areas are maintaining moderate to high populations, the resource is not depleted, beaver move in from adjacent areas thus maintaining densities (Standfield, unpublished data).

For the reasons stated above, it appears that under normal conditions (i.e. under normal trapping activity and barring disastrous declines in population levels because of disease etc.) an area would not be depleted of beaver by trapping pressure.

(c) Referring again to the beaver research of Standfield and Smith (page 63), there was no evidence of poor beaver habitat in the areas around the village.

If we accept the facts that the resource is not being depleted and that trapper activity is heavier around the village, why are harvests per square mile relatively low? It would be expected that per trapper harvests might be lower (which they are), but harvest per square mile should be relatively high with greater trapper activity. Examination of the fur returns for the individual traplines for each year of the

19-year period revealed some interesting facts. Beaver harvests during the 1950's fell more drastically and remained low longer on those traplines near the village than in the peripheral sections. There are two possible explanations for these low harvests during the 1950's. Trapper activity may have been lower than usual during that period and/or the beaver resource may have been relatively poorer than on peripheral traplines. That the latter is true is supported by both declining trapper activity and lower per trapper harvests during that period. It is possible that during the 1950's when beaver populations were low because of the tularemia epizootic, fewer beaver would be available to move into the more heavily trapped central area to maintain population densities. This, combined with more concerted trapping effort, may have further depleted the resource in the areas central to the village. This does not contradict the statement made earlier that heavier trapping does not deplete the beaver resource when densities are high.

The very low harvests in the central area during the 1950's had the effect of lowering the average harvest per square mile for the 19-year period -- the figure on which the map of relative harvests was based. For a normal period then, the map shows deceptively low harvests. A further factor which may account for low per square mile harvests is that trappers may trap on another man's trapline -- his harvest would be credited to his own trapline, not to that yielding the fur. This would be a reasonable assumption for those traplines central to the village. Rogers found this to be true in 1958. He believed the practice had started in 1953 when the first winter school was established (Roger, 1962).

One trapline in the central area, #286, does not appear to conform to the pattern of heavier trapping near the village. The density of trappers is low, as is the harvest and value per square mile. However, referring to Table 2:9 which shows average value of the furs, it is noted that only seven of the eighteen traplines showed a higher value for beaver, and only five a higher value for all furs. This would suggest that the large area of the trapping territory, much of which is made up of bodies of water, has produced a deceptive picture when

harvests and activity are considered on a per square mile basis.

In the peripheral areas three traplines (#'s 285, 276, and 279) do not correspond to the general picture of higher beaver harvests away from the village. During the 19-year period there were six years when #285 was not trapped at all. The low harvests are therefore primarily a reflection of very limited trapper activity which may in turn be related to some extent to the relatively low beaver density, i.e. the incentive to trap was less than in areas of higher beaver densities. Ethnological work done in 1958 and 1968 reveals that only a very small part of #276 was being trapped (Rogers, 1962; Black, Page 172, Part III). Per trapper returns for the trapline compare favourably with other trappers in adjacent traplines. It is possible that this area is being under-trapped. The same appears to be true for Traplines #279 and 288 where beaver densities appear able to support greater trapping activity.

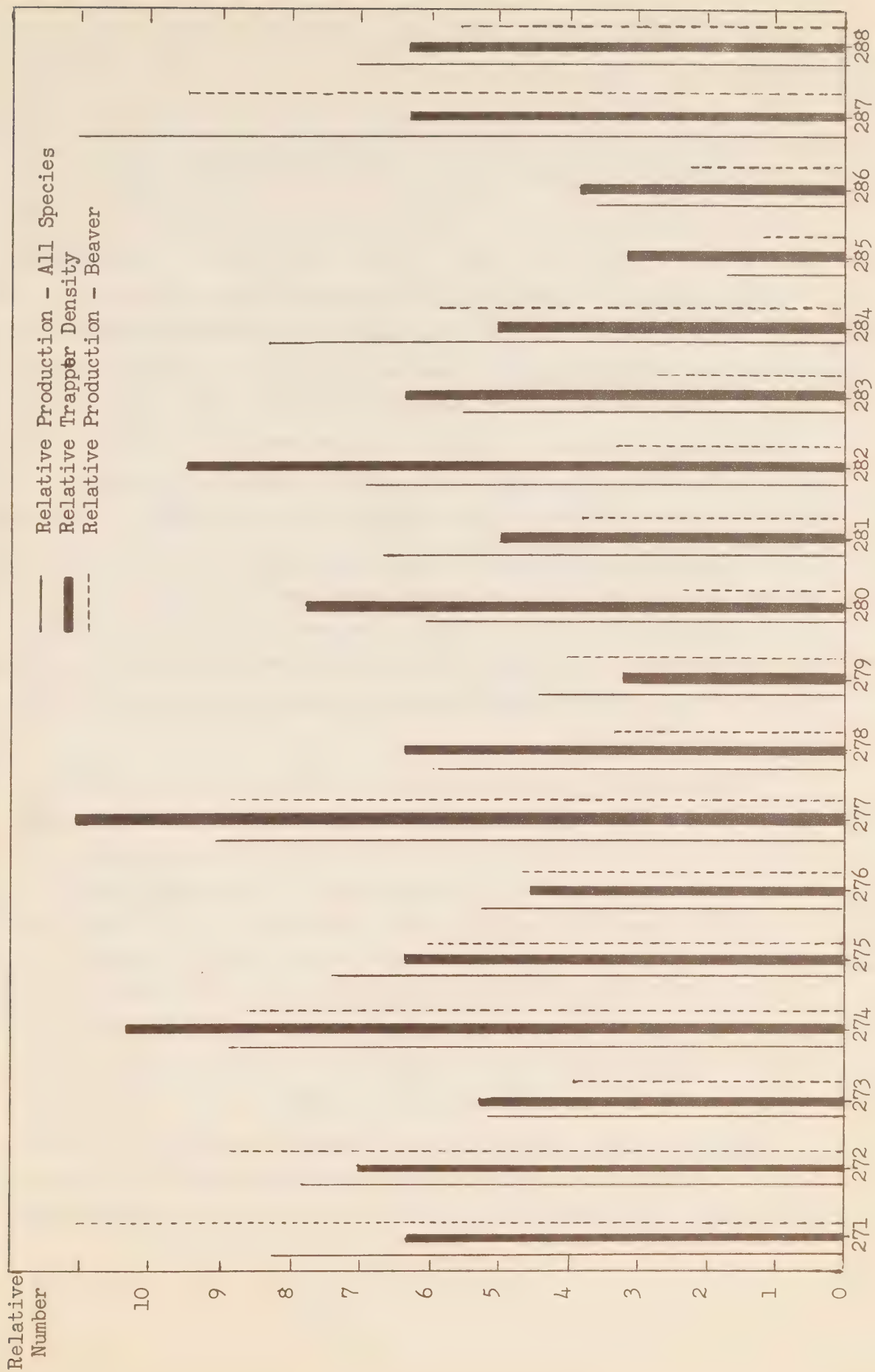
Figure 2:20 indicates that there is a correlation between harvests per square mile and trapper density, i.e. low trapper densities produced low harvests and high densities produced higher harvests.

In summary, it appears that in general the central and intermediate areas are more intensively trapped than the peripheral regions. During the 1950's beaver densities were not maintained in the more heavily trapped areas; harvests dropped disproportionately, lowering the average harvest per square mile shown in Figure 2:13. But, perhaps the principal factor contributing to the apparent low harvests in the central area is the possibility of additional trappers taking furs there, but crediting them to their own trapline.

The peripheral areas were shown in the 1968-9 beaver research to have relatively high beaver densities. It is probable that they are being undertrapped.

Significance of Trends in Production: During the 19-year period under investigation, broad fluctuations and an apparent decline in total harvest were noted. It was indicated that the decline in beaver harvests was coincident with an epizootic which decimated beaver populations. In 1967 beaver harvests were higher than at any time in the 19-year

Figure 2:20 A COMPARISON OF TRAPPER DENSITY AND FUR PRODUCTION



period. Mink harvests at the same time were lower than average, but no firmly established downward trend is apparent. Muskrat accounted in large part for both the apparent overall decline and the fluctuations. The fluctuations in harvest are probably a reflection of cyclic variations in muskrat populations. It is difficult to determine whether or not a downward trend is underway. There does appear to have been less emphasis on trapping in the spring migration from the village in 1969 and again in 1970 (Part III, Page 254). Whether or not this represents a trend or was merely a response to a low in the muskrat cycle is not known.

Effect of Price Changes: Variations in harvest and trapper activity do not appear to have been in response to low or high prices. The trappers have continued to trap when prices were low. This is in accord with a characteristic of the Round Lake men noted by Dr. Black — their desire to keep busy and on the move (Part III, page 328).

Significance of Trends in Trapper Activity: There has been little overall change in the total number of trappers during the period as a whole. This indicates that trapping has remained a stable occupation in the community, although alternate sources of income (from government assistance and limited employment) have become increasingly available in the past few years.

Ethnological field work done in 1958 (Rogers 1962) and 1968-70 does indicate that there is a trend toward the trapper spending more time in the village. In 1958 the average trapper departed by canoe before freeze-up; in 1968-70 transportation to the trapline was by aircraft or snowmobile sometime after freeze-up (Part III, Page 168). These more efficient means of transportation allow the trapper to stay longer in the village without necessarily spending less time on the trapline. As noted previously the number of pelts taken per trapper has remained fairly stable over the period as a whole, an indication that trapper effort has probably remained constant.

The percentage of men who trap has fallen. Much of this decrease can be accounted for in the upper and lower age brackets — those over 65 and under 20. The older men now receive the Old Age Security pension

and are not forced to earn their livelihood on the trapline. In the younger age group, most are in school. A few more men are employed full-time in the village now than in the past. However, there has as yet been no indication that trapping is becoming less important as an occupation for Round Lake men; most young men in the village are becoming trappers when they leave school.

CONCLUSION

Analysis of the fur harvest for the 1949-1967 period indicates that trapping has remained an important occupation for the Round Lake men. Although per trapper income has decreased this was largely due to lower fur prices and lower harvests attributable to low beaver populations during a tularemia epizootic.

Trapping pressure does not appear to have adversely affected the furbearer population. The peripheral area, that is the southern section, appears to be undertrapped. It is probable that the data used in this analysis understate this. The ethnological field work indicates that more trapper activity occurs in the central area than is indicated in the fur returns; conversely, it would be true that there would be correspondingly less in the peripheral areas.

Table 2:8 AVERAGE ANNUAL HARVEST OF FURS PER SQUARE MILE 1949-1967

Trapline

*All

Number	Beaver	Fisher	Fox	Lynx	Mink	Muskrat	Otter	Squirrel	Weasel	Total	Species	*Beaver
271	.354	.004	.003	.006	.138	.489	.039	.017	.030	1.080	7	10
272	.284	.004	.008	.009	.161	.322	.049	.121	.094	1.052	7	8
273	.124	.001	.003	.006	.108	.377	.013	.034	.039	.705	5	3
274	.277	.006	.014	.005	.142	.341	.034	.221	.166	1.206	8	8
275	.194	.003	.003	.017	.128	.456	.031	.110	.072	1.014	7	5
276	.149	.001	.003	.002	.117	.260	.034	.031	.060	.657	4	4
277	.283	.001	.007	.004	.128	.630	.038	.044	.074	1.209	8	8
278	.102	-	.008	.004	.112	.463	.025	.018	.067	.799	5	3
279	.127	.001	.003	.005	.074	.267	.020	.049	.046	.592	4	4
280	.073	.003	.001	.007	.085	.436	.026	.058	.138	.827	5	2
281	.120	.002	.001	.056	.106	.351	.033	.132	.086	.887	6	3
282	.106	.002	.011	.008	.148	.505	.029	.049	.054	.912	6	3
283	.088	.001	.005	.004	.128	.391	.018	.046	.063	.744	5	2
284	.188	.002	.007	.005	.098	.664	.029	.062	.065	1.120	8	5
285	.041	-	.004	.003	.032	.114	.006	.005	.032	.237	2	1
286	.075	.002	.014	.006	.049	.308	.035	.043	.046	.478	3	2
287	.296	.013	.002	.013	.166	.860	.031	.044	.058	1.483	10	8
288	.178	.003	.009	.004	.098	.560	.027	.014	.046	.939	6	5
Totals	2.764	.049	.106	.164	2.018	7.794	.517	1.098	1.236	15.746		
Average	.154	.003	.006	.018	.112	.433	.029	.061	.069	.885		
Production												
Percentage	17.4	.4	.7	2.0	12.6	48.9	3.3	6.9	7.8	100.0		

* Relative Production Numbers for Map and Illustration Purposes
Information Source: T-14 Forms, Department of Lands and Forests

Table 2:9 AVERAGE ANNUAL VALUE OF FURS 1949 - 1967

Trapline #	Area	Beaver	Fisher	Fox	Lynx	Mink	Muskrat	Otter	Squirrel	Weasel	Total	Value per Sq. Mile
271	189	\$931	\$14	-	\$12	\$437	\$125	\$183	\$11	\$3	\$1706	\$9.03
272	236	916	15	1	19	721	111	276	9	20	2088	8.85
273	248	409	4	1	11	390	120	82	2	9	1028	4.15
274	226	868	24	2	13	460	94	182	15	23	1681	7.54
275	285	744	13	1	57	483	175	215	9	16	1713	6.01
276	388	795	8	1	14	657	141	319	4	19	1957	5.04
277	236	984	3	2	12	477	212	218	3	18	1930	8.18
278	322	447	-	2	11	542	217	199	2	21	1441	4.47
279	377	662	6	1	20	385	133	180	6	15	1408	3.73
280	226	227	13	2	12	314	128	169	4	33	902	3.99
281	235	415	5	-	16	370	120	155	9	20	1110	4.72
282	360	500	16	3	32	803	247	245	5	21	1872	5.20
283	386	431	8	2	11	707	215	168	5	22	1569	4.06
284	254	671	6	2	11	339	217	179	5	13	1443	5.68
285	184	106	-	1	2	100	28	25	0	6	268	1.46
286	642	702	22	7	5	547	262	163	8	26	1742	2.71
287	246	975	49	0	69	479	256	184	3	7	2022	8.21
288	101	262	16	1	5	157	87	64	0	5	597	5.91
<hr/>												
TOTAL VALUE		\$11,045	\$222	\$29	\$332	\$8,368	\$2,888	\$3,206	\$90	\$297	\$26,477	
PERCENTAGE		41.7	.8	.1	1.3	31.6	10.9	12.1	.3	1.1		

Information Source: T-14 Forms; Price Summary - D.B.S. and O.T.A.

Table 2:10.

TRAPPER ACTIVITY 1949 - 1967

Trapline Number	Area (Sq. Mi.)	# of Trappers Total																			Trapper Density			
		49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	19 Yrs. Per Year	No. Per Sq. Mi.	Relative Number	
271	189	2	2	3	3	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	39	2.0	.010	6
272	236	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	1	2	4	4	4	4	5	3	51	2.7	.011	6
273	248	3	3	3	3	2	2	-	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	3	2	36	1.9	.008	5
274	226	2	2	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	5	4	5	6	8	6	69	3.6	.016	9
275	285	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	5	5	4	4	4	3	54	2.8	.010	6
276	388	4	4	3	3	1	1	1	2	3	3	2	2	3	3	3	3	2	2	1	46	2.9	.007	4
277	236	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	3	2	2	3	3	4	4	4	4	78	4.1	.017	10
278	322	6	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	1	4	3	4	4	3	5	5	64	3.4	.010	6
279	377	2	3	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	37	1.9	.005	3
280	226	3	5	4	5	5	5	4	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	2	4	3	54	2.8	.012	7
281	235	3	3	3	-	2	3	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	36	1.9	.008	5
282	360	6	5	6	6	5	6	5	5	6	6	5	5	6	6	4	6	5	6	5	104	5.5	.015	9
283	386	2	5	5	5	5	5	4	6	5	3	2	2	4	4	4	5	4	3	4	77	4.0	.010	6
284	254	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	3	3	3	41	2.1	.008	5
285	184	2	2	2	-	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	17	.9	.005	3
286	642	6	5	5	5	3	2	2	2	3	1	2	2	3	4	6	5	4	5	3	68	3.6	.006	3
287	246	2	-	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	49	2.6	.010	6
288	101	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	19	1.0	.010	6
Total		56	57	58	50	47	50	44	42	46	44	37	35	44	51	50	59	52	64	53				

Information Source: T-14 Forms, Department of Lands and Forests

Part B A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE FUR HARVESTS OF SELECTED BAND
AREAS IN PATRICIA CENTRAL DISTRICT WITH THAT OF ROUND LAKE
FOR THE YEARS 1949 - 1967

INTRODUCTION

The fur harvest of the Round Lake Band Area was intensively analyzed in Part A of the Fur Harvest Analysis. The following relates the fur harvests of three Patricia Central areas to that previously obtained from the Round Lake area, and provides information on the relative productivity of these areas, with particular reference to the economic importance of fur trapping to the Indians living therein. One purpose is to determine the efficiency of the Round Lake trapper relative to others utilizing areas of similar furbearer resource capability. The second purpose is to determine the effect on trapping of opportunities for employment which offer a realistic alternative to trapping as an occupation.

The Patricia Central band areas were selected on the basis of their proximity and physical similarity to the Round Lake Band Area and of the varying degrees of employment opportunity other than the harvest of wildlife resources.

The Patricia Central band areas selected are either adjacent to or near the Round Lake Band Area, being situated to the northeast, east and southeast (Figure 2:21).

The areas were compared with respect to:

- | | | |
|-----------|---|---|
| Harvest - | - | number of pelts harvested |
| Value | - | dollar value of harvest |
| Trappers | - | number of active, licenced trappers and their annual income |

SOURCES OF EMPLOYMENT

Pickle Crow: During the period concerned, 1949 - 1967, Indians in the Pickle Crow area had more opportunity for employment than members of the other three band areas. Two mines were in operation during much of the period, a road was under construction, a fish packing plant commenced operation. Seasonal jobs were also available in guiding, fire-fighting and tree-planting. The geographical position of Pickle Crow gave the men easier access to jobs on the railway and in towns along the railway.

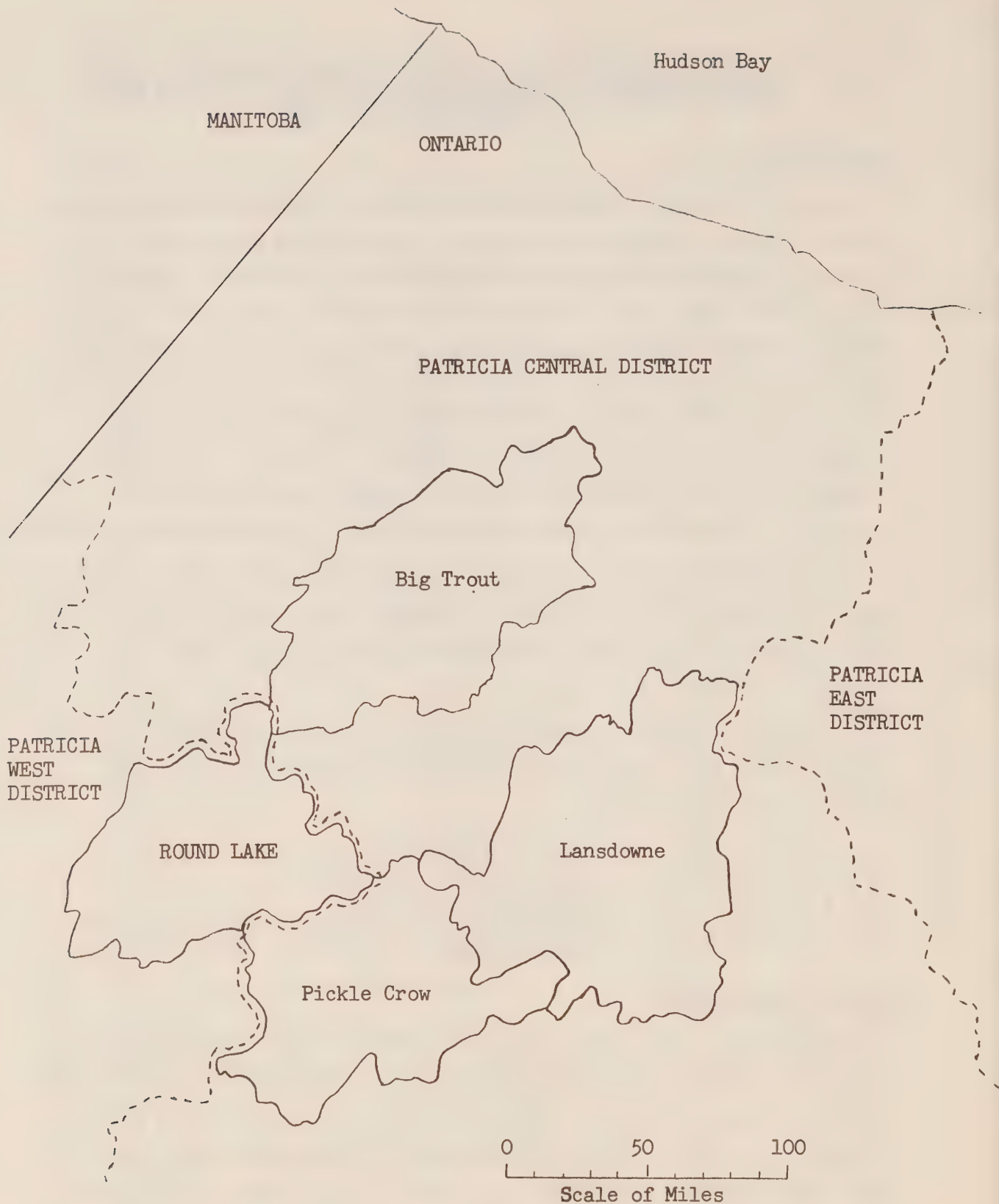


Figure 2:21 LOCATION OF TRAPLINE AREAS

The Indian trapper in the Pickle Crow area thus had some reasonable alternatives to trapping during the entire period.

Big Trout Lake: Over the same period, residents of the Big Trout Lake area had some employment opportunities through construction and servicing activities relative to schools and a weather station, and the general increase in the amount of travel and freighting activities through Big Trout Lake due to its central location in the Patricia areas. Fire-fighting and tree planting have also been sources of seasonal employment.

Lansdowne House: Employment opportunities in Lansdowne House were most comparable to those of Round Lake. During the period of this study there was very little employment opportunity in these areas, other than that provided by the harvest of fish and wildlife resources.

METHOD

The harvest data were taken from T-14 forms for trapper returns of the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics and the Ontario Trappers' Association Fur Sales Service figures were used for fur prices for the years 1949 - 1967.

In this study, only the four most important furbearers (beaver, mink, muskrat and otter) are taken into consideration. Together they account for about 95% of the value of animals harvested. The figures for the Round Lake Band Area have also been recalculated on the basis of these four species only. Other species (fisher, fox, lynx, weasel, squirrel, raccoon, etc.) are only of minor importance, and are therefore not included.

A GENERAL COMPARISON OF THE PATRICIA CENTRAL AND ROUND LAKE BAND AREAS

The three areas selected for comparison with Round Lake have a similar physical environment. Research done on beaver colony densities in Patricia Central showed counts similar to that of Round Lake. Therefore the differences in fur harvests and trapper activity are largely attributable to economic and social rather than environmental factors.

Since the band areas under consideration range from about 5,000 to 9,000 square miles in area, a comparison between them was made on a per square mile basis. Average annual harvest and value of furs for the entire period are shown in Tables 2:11 and 2:13 for reference.

Big Trout Lake: The average annual pelt production per square mile of the four species concerned in this band area (.405 per square mile) was much less than in Round Lake (.706 per square mile) (Table 2:12). In the case of beaver (.103 per square mile) and mink (.073 per square mile) it was about two-thirds of that in Round Lake (.156 and .108 per square mile). Only for otter was the harvest almost as high (.023 per square mile). While the harvest per square mile was generally lower here, the overall production of these four species was quite similar to that found in Round Lake — beaver, mink and otter being slightly higher and muskrat lower (Figure 2:22).

The average annual value of the harvest per square mile in Big Trout (\$3.51) was about 30 percent lower than in Round Lake (Table 2:16). In terms of each species, beaver was the most economically valuable, followed by mink, otter and muskrat in that order. This was the case in all the band areas under consideration, including Round Lake (Table 2:13).

The trapper density in Big Trout (.0125 per square mile) was about 30 percent higher than in Round Lake, and the number of trappers per trapline (5.41) was the highest of all the band areas, being twice that in Round Lake. Trapper income (\$281.00 per year) was slightly over half of that in Round Lake, and was the lowest of all the band areas (Table 2:16).

Lansdowne House: This area was the most productive in terms of valuable fur species. The harvest of beaver (.191 per square mile) and mink (.125 per square mile) was much higher than in Round Lake (Table 2:12). Otter harvest (.031 per square mile) was slightly higher also. Only for muskrat was the harvest lower, which accounts for the fact that when all species are considered, the pelt production in Lansdowne (.643 per square mile) was about 10 percent lower than that in Round Lake (Table 2:16). In terms of production, beaver and mink together accounted for about

half of the total harvest, whereas in Round Lake they accounted for only about one-third (Figure 2:22).

The value of the fur harvest per square mile in Lansdowne (\$5.73) was the highest of the four band areas. This may be partly due to the fact that trapper density (0.131 per square mile) was also highest (Table 2:16). The number of trappers per trapline (3.52) was higher than in Round Lake (2.44), but not as high as in Big Trout (5.41)(Table 2:15).

Trapper income was relatively high (\$439.00 per year) being second to Round Lake which had the highest trapper income of the four band areas (\$514.00 per year)(Table 2:15).

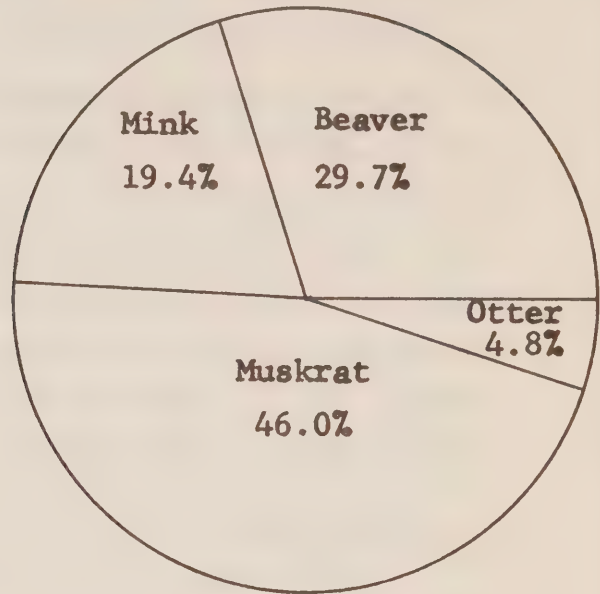
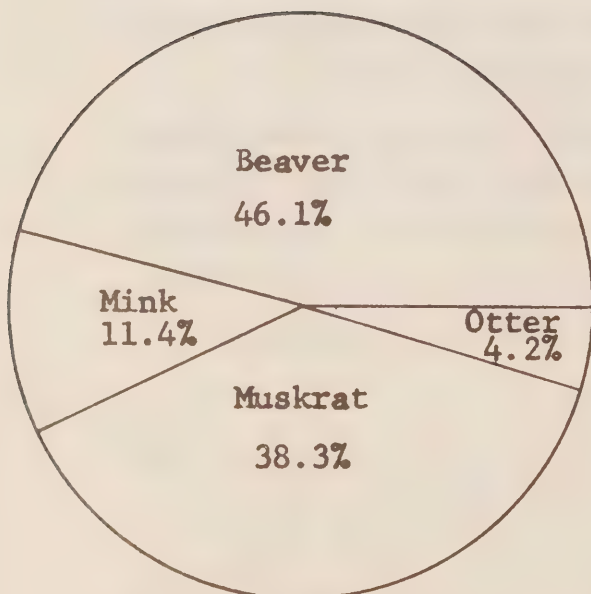
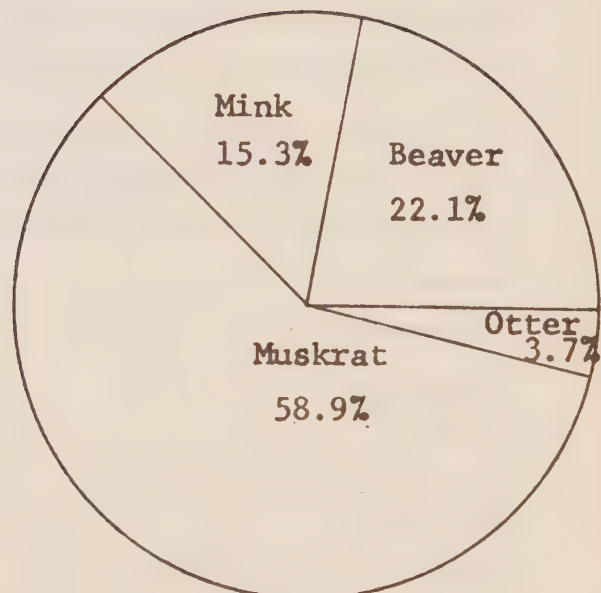
Pickle Crow: This was the least productive of the four areas concerned in both pelt production and value per square mile. The very low pelt production (.308 per square mile), about 40 percent of that in Round Lake, was mainly due to the fact that there were comparatively few muskrat trapped in Pickle Crow (.118 per square mile). The harvest of mink and otter was also lower than in Round Lake (Table 2:12). In the case of beaver, however, the harvest was ~~almost~~ as high as in Round Lake (.156 per square mile) and accounted for nearly half of all the furbearers harvested in this band area (Figure 2.22), and about 65 percent in terms of value (Figure 2:23). It appears that the trappers concentrated on beaver, which was economically the most valuable species.

Trapper density in Pickle Crow (.0107 per square mile) was slightly higher than in Round Lake (.0096 per square mile). The number of trappers per trapline (2.44) was the lowest of all the band areas. The trappers' annual income was also very low (\$290.00 per year), being only \$9.00 per year above that of Big Trout Lake (Table 2:15).

CONCLUSIONS

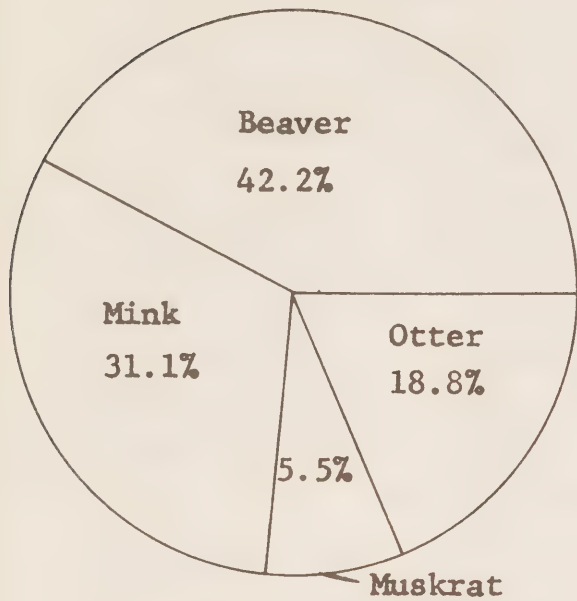
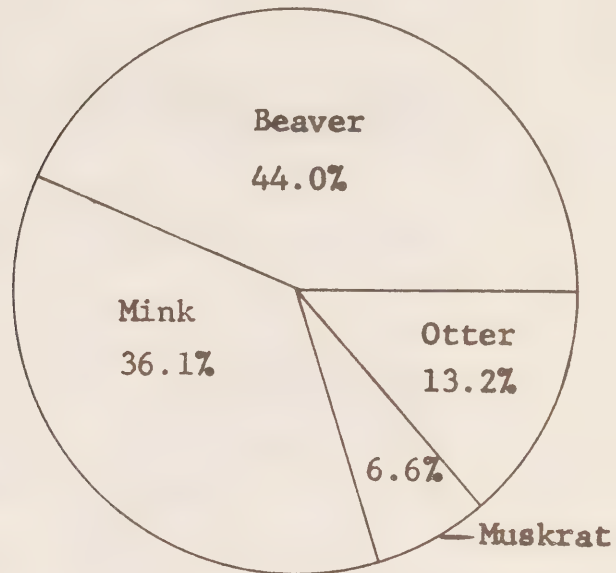
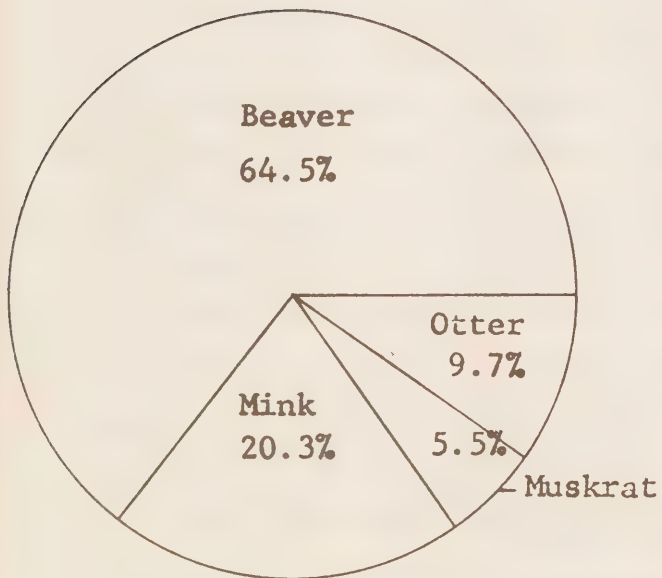
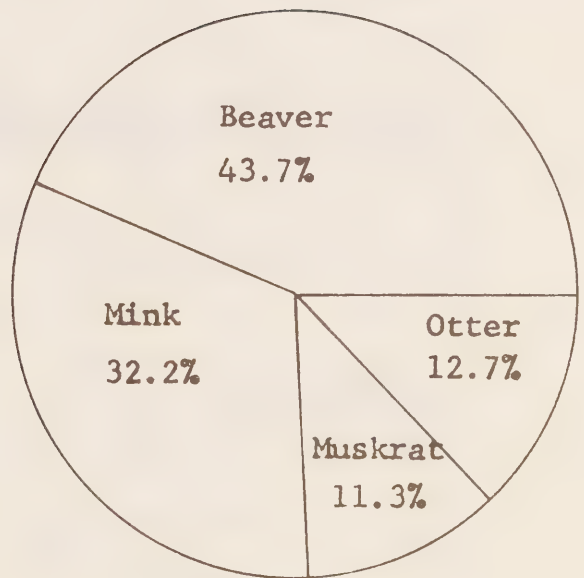
Trapper Efficiency: The trappers of the Patricia Central band areas were generally less productive than those in the Round Lake areas. A greater number of trappers (about 25 percent higher average trapper density) in the Patricia Central areas produced approximately 20 percent less fur than the Round Lake trappers in terms of the value of the fur harvest per square mile (Table 2:16).

Figure 2:22

PERCENTAGE OF HARVEST BY SPECIESBig Trout (3200)*Lansdowne (5711)Pickle Crow (1822)Round Lake (3632)

*(Average Number of Pelts Harvested Annually)

Figure 2:23

PERCENTAGE OF VALUE OF HARVEST BY SPECIESBig Trout (\$24324)*Lansdowne (\$50915)Pickle Crow (\$18403)Round Lake (\$25386)

*(Average Annual Value of Harvest)

The average trapper income in the Patricia Central areas was only about two-thirds of that in Round Lake (Table 2:16).

There is no apparent correlation between the size of the trapping group (i.e. number of trappers per trapline) and the income of an individual trapper in the different band areas (Table 2:15).

The number of active trappers has remained fairly constant over the nineteen year period, 1949 - 1967 (Figure 2:27), although harvest (Figure 2:25 and Figure 2:26) and income (Figure 2:28) have varied considerably. This would indicate that trapping is continued as a matter of course even though harvest and fur prices fluctuate from year to year (Figure 2:29). The exception to this is at Pickle Crow where the number of trappers has shown an overall decrease.

The trappers' income from furs appears to have generally declined when the earlier part of the period is compared with the latter, especially in the Patricia Central areas (Figure 2:28). In the early 1950's, income in the Patricia Central areas was often well above \$400.00 per year, but in the late 1960's it declined to under \$300.00. In Round Lake, trapper income was higher over the entire period.

Trappers' incomes fluctuated with fur prices over the period concerned (Figure 2:28 and Figure 2:29). There was no indication that trappers increased their efforts and subsequently their fur harvests in order to maintain their income levels from furs in years of low fur prices.

Per trapper harvests in all three areas were much lower throughout the period than at Round Lake. The overall decrease in per trapper harvests for all three areas was also greater than at Round Lake.

When the four bands are compared over the period 1949 - 1967 with respect to the importance of fur trapping in the economy of the Indians, they can be ranked in this order: (see Figure 2:24)

Round Lake	-	highest harvest per square mile and trapper income
Lansdowne	-	most productive (dollars per square mile), highest trapper density
Big Trout	-	largest trapping group lowest trapper income

Figure 2:24 COMPARISON OF ROUND LAKE AND PATRICIA CENTRAL AREAS

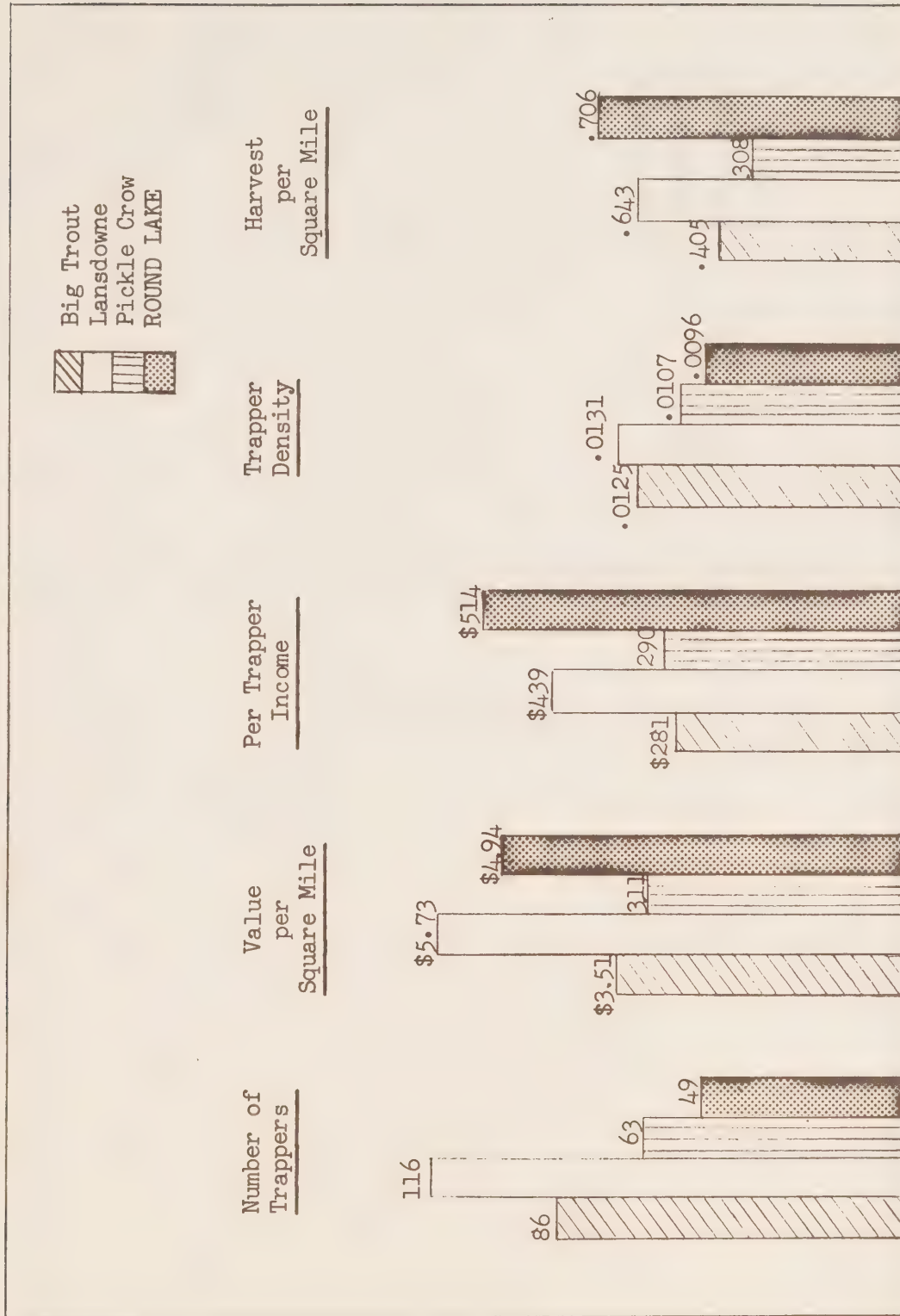


Figure 2:25 FUR HARVEST - PELTS PER SQUARE MILE 1949 - 1967

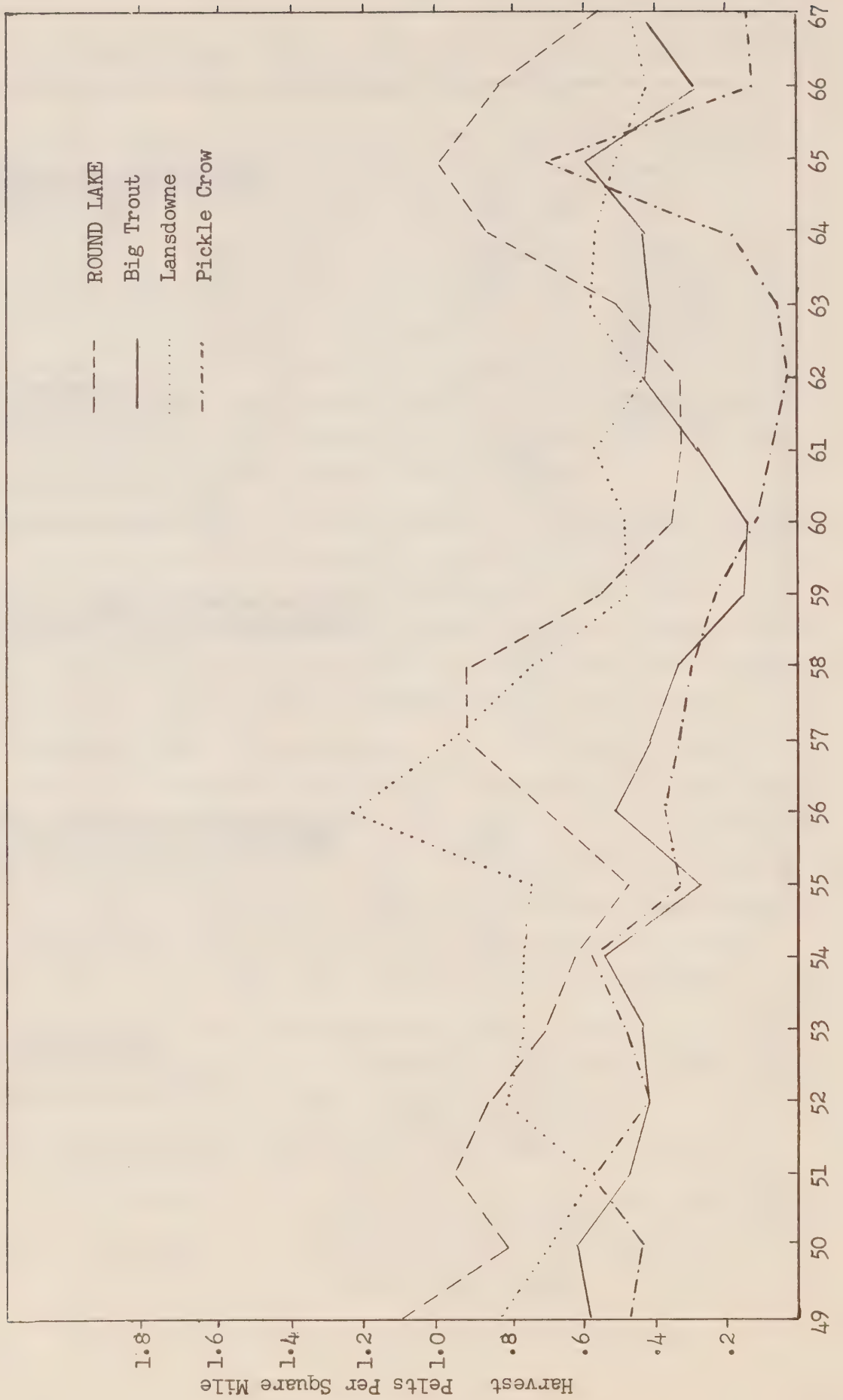


Figure 2:26

FUR HARVEST BY SPECIES

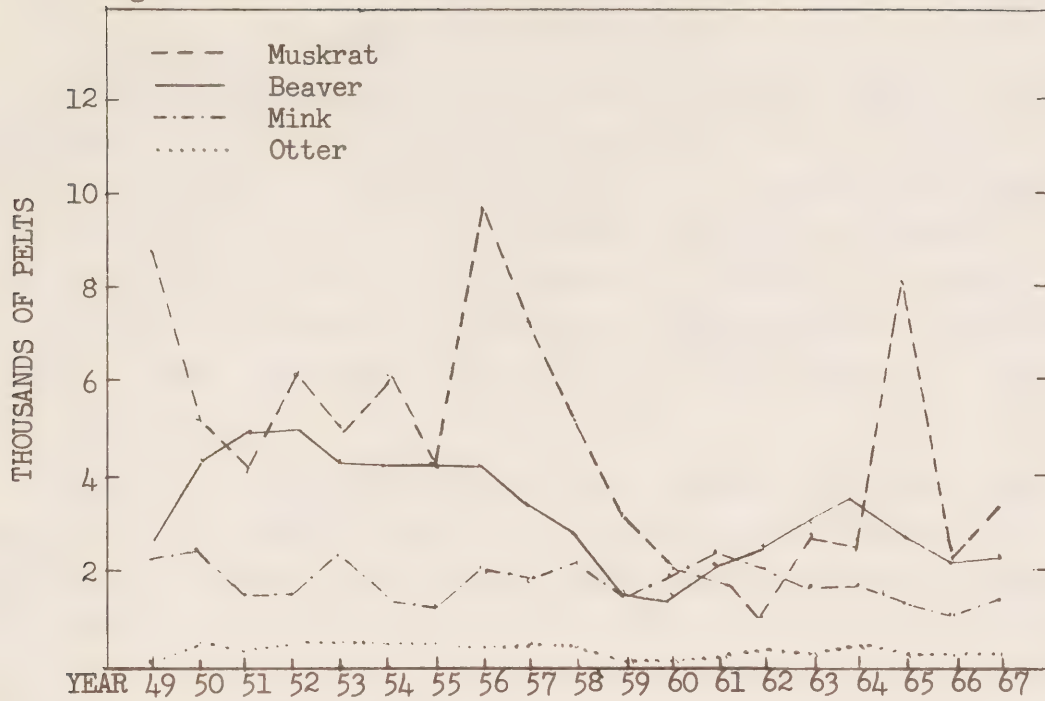


Figure 2:27

TRAPPER ACTIVITY

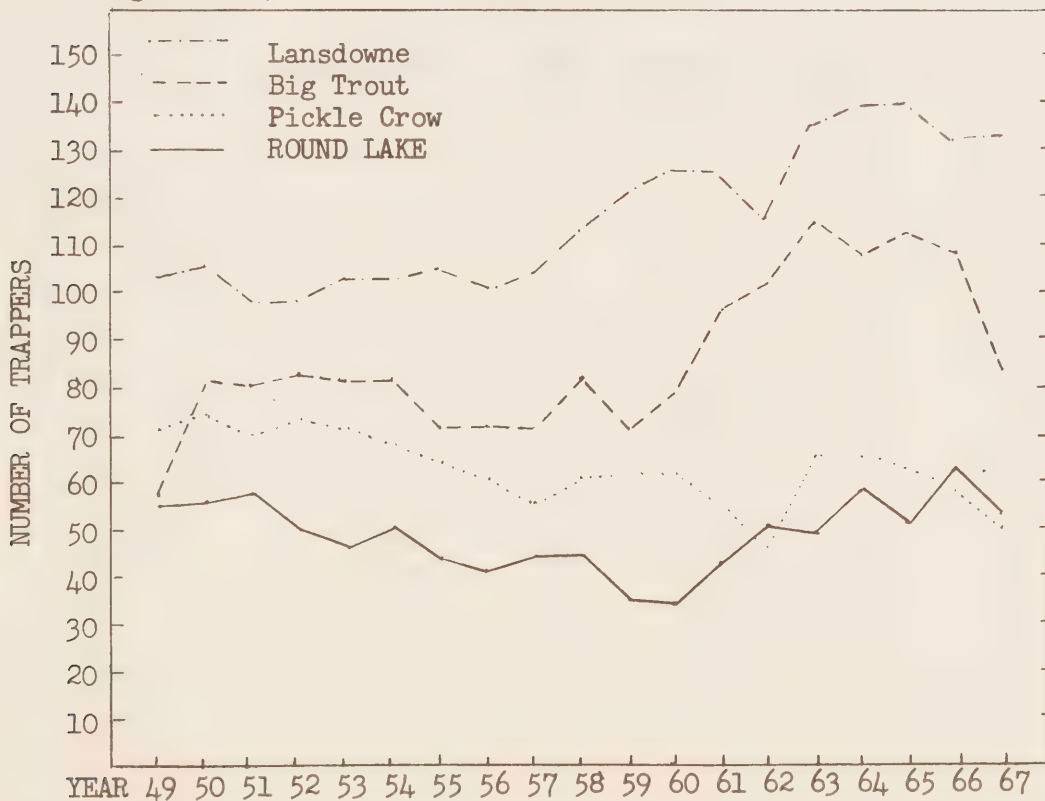


Figure 2:28

TRAPPER INCOME

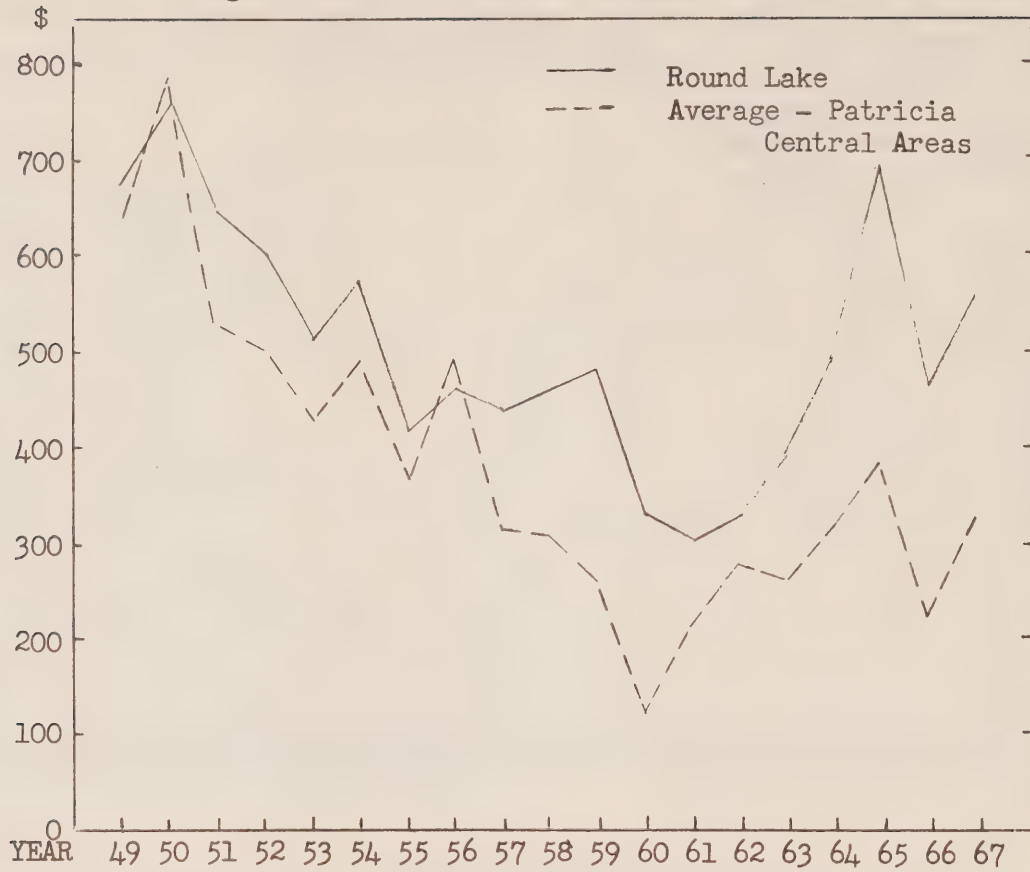
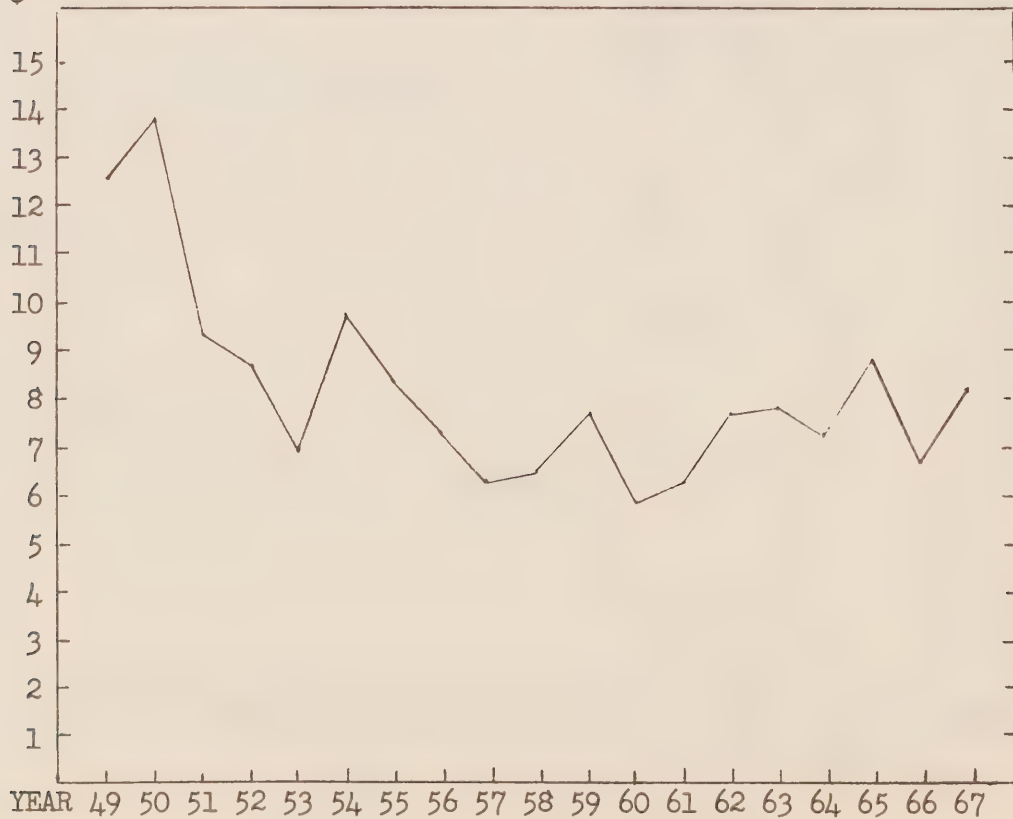


Figure 2:29

AVERAGE PRICE OF FURS 1949 - 1967



Pickle Crow - smallest trapping group
 low trapper income
 least productive

Effect of Alternate Sources of Income: In the Pickle Lake area where alternate sources of employment were available, the number of trappers has shown an overall decline from 71 at the beginning of the 19-year period to 50 in 1967. In addition, the trappers appeared to be more selective in that they concentrated on the fur of greatest economic value — beaver. It appears that some Pickle Crow men have turned to these other sources of employment as fur prices and incomes have dropped.

In the Big Trout area, although some alternate employment was available, the number of trappers has increased. This is in direct contrast to the situation at Pickle Crow. However, at Pickle Crow the jobs were of a more permanent nature. At Big Trout as at Round Lake and Lansdowne, most of the jobs available are short-term and seasonal. This type of employment does not attract men away from trapping on a permanent basis, but provides supplementary work in off-seasons.

Table 2:11 AVERAGE ANNUAL FUR HARVEST, 1949 - 1967

BAND AREA	(Sq. Mi.)	Beaver	Mink	Muskrat	Otter	Total
Big Trout	6,925	711	508	1,416	176	2,811
Lansdowne	8,875	1,700	1,109	2,628	274	5,711
Pickle Crow	5,925	841	206	701	74	1,822
Round Lake	5,141	803	555	2,140	134	3,632

Table 2:12 AVERAGE ANNUAL FUR HARVEST
PELTS PER SQUARE MILE

BAND AREA	Beaver	Mink	Muskrat	Otter	Total
Big Trout	.103 (25.5)*	.073 (18.1)*	.204 (50.6)*	.023 (5.7)*	.405
Lansdowne	.191 (29.7)	.125 (19.4)	.296 (46.0)	.031 (4.8)	.643
Pickle Crow	.142 (46.1)	.035 (11.4)	.118 (38.3)	.013 (4.2)	.308
Round Lake	.156 (21.1)	.108 (15.4)	.416 (58.9)	.026 (3.7)	.706

*(Percentage of Total in Brackets)

Table 2:13 AVERAGE ANNUAL VALUE OF FUR HARVEST

BAND AREA	(Sq. Mi.)	Beaver	Mink	Muskrat	Otter	Total Value
Big Trout	6,925	10,226	7,580	1,896	4,622	\$24,324
Lansdowne	8,875	22,413	18,361	3,419	6,722	\$50,915
Pickle Crow	5,925	11,861	3,752	1,018	1,722	\$18,403
Round Lake	5,141	11,109	8,156	2,867	3,254	\$25,386

Table 2:14 AVERAGE ANNUAL VALUE OF FUR HARVEST
PER SQUARE MILE

BAND AREA	Beaver	Mink	Muskrat	Otter	Total Value
Big Trout	1.48 (42.2)*	1.09 (31.1)*	0.28 (7.9)*	0.66 (18.8)	\$3.51
Lansdowne	2.52 (44.0)	2.07 (36.1)	0.38 (6.6)	0.76 (13.2)	\$5.73
Pickle Crow	2.00 (64.5)	0.63 (20.3)	0.17 (5.5)	0.31 (9.7)	\$3.11
Round Lake	2.16 (43.7)	1.59 (32.2)	0.56 (11.3)	0.63 (12.7)	\$4.94

* (Percentage of Total Value in Brackets)

Table 2:15 NUMBER OF TRAPPERS AND INCOME

Band Area	Area (Sq. Mi.)	No. of Traplines	Number of Trappers				Annual Income	
			Total 19 Yrs	Per Year	Per Sq. Mi.	Per Trapline	Total	Per Trapper
Big Trout	6,925	16	1,644	86.5	.0125	5.41	\$24,324	\$281
Lansdowne	8,875	33	2,205	116.0	.0131	3.52	\$50,915	\$439
Pickle Crow	5,925	26	1,205	63.4	.0107	2.44	\$18,403	\$290
Round Lake	5,141	18	939	49.4	.0096	2.74	\$25,386	\$514

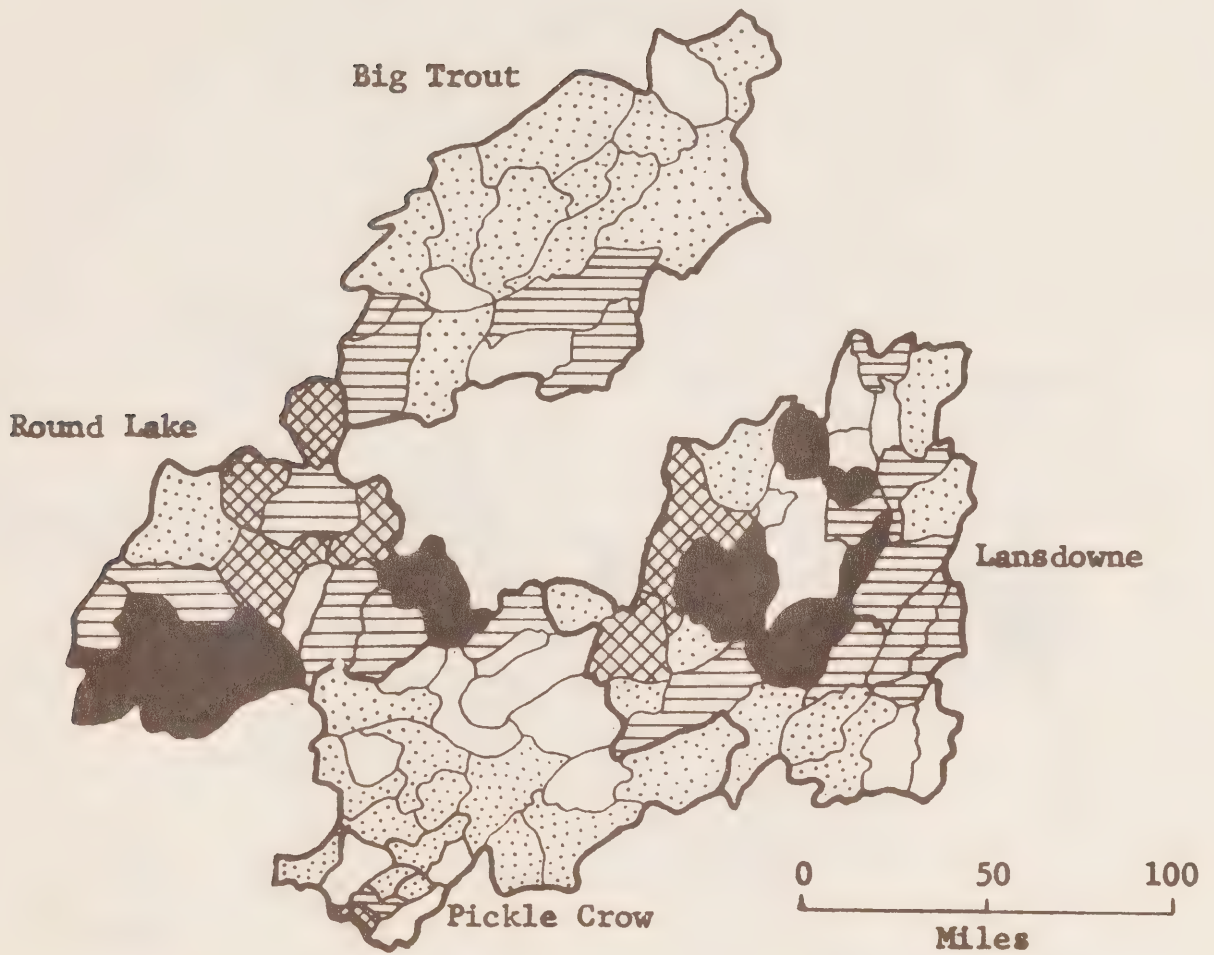
Table 2:16

SUMMARY OF DATA

Band Area	Density (No./Sq. Mi.)	Trappers		Harvest	Value
		No. Per Trapline	Income (\$/Year)	(Pelts/Sq. Mi.)	(\$/Sq. Mi.)
Big Trout	.0125 (130)*	5.41 (197)*	\$281 (55)*	.405 (57)*	\$3.51 (71)*
Lansdowne	.0131 (136)	3.52 (128)	\$439 (85)	.643 (91)	\$5.73 (116)
Pickle Crow	.0107 (111)	2.44 (89)	\$290 (56)	.308 (44)	\$3.11 (63)
Average for P.C. Areas	.0121 (126)	3.79 (138)	\$337 (66)	.449 (64)	\$4.11 (83)
Round Lake	.0096	2.74	\$514	.706	\$4.94

* Percentage Comparison with Round Lake in Brackets

Figure 2:30

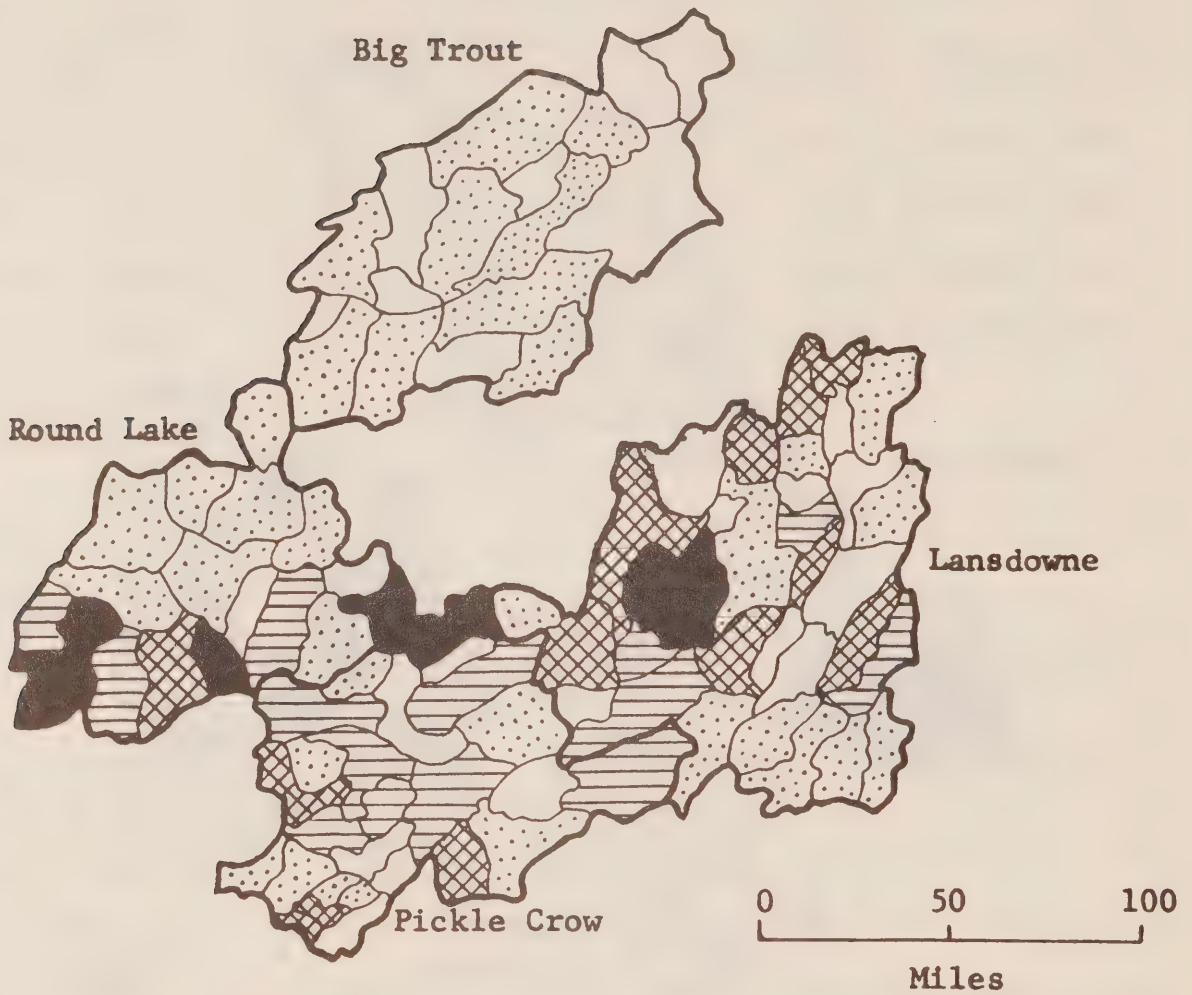
FUR HARVEST (ALL SPECIES)

Number of Pelts Per Square Mile

.000 - .250
 .251 - .500
 .501 - .750
 .751 - 1.000
 1.000 - 1.250+



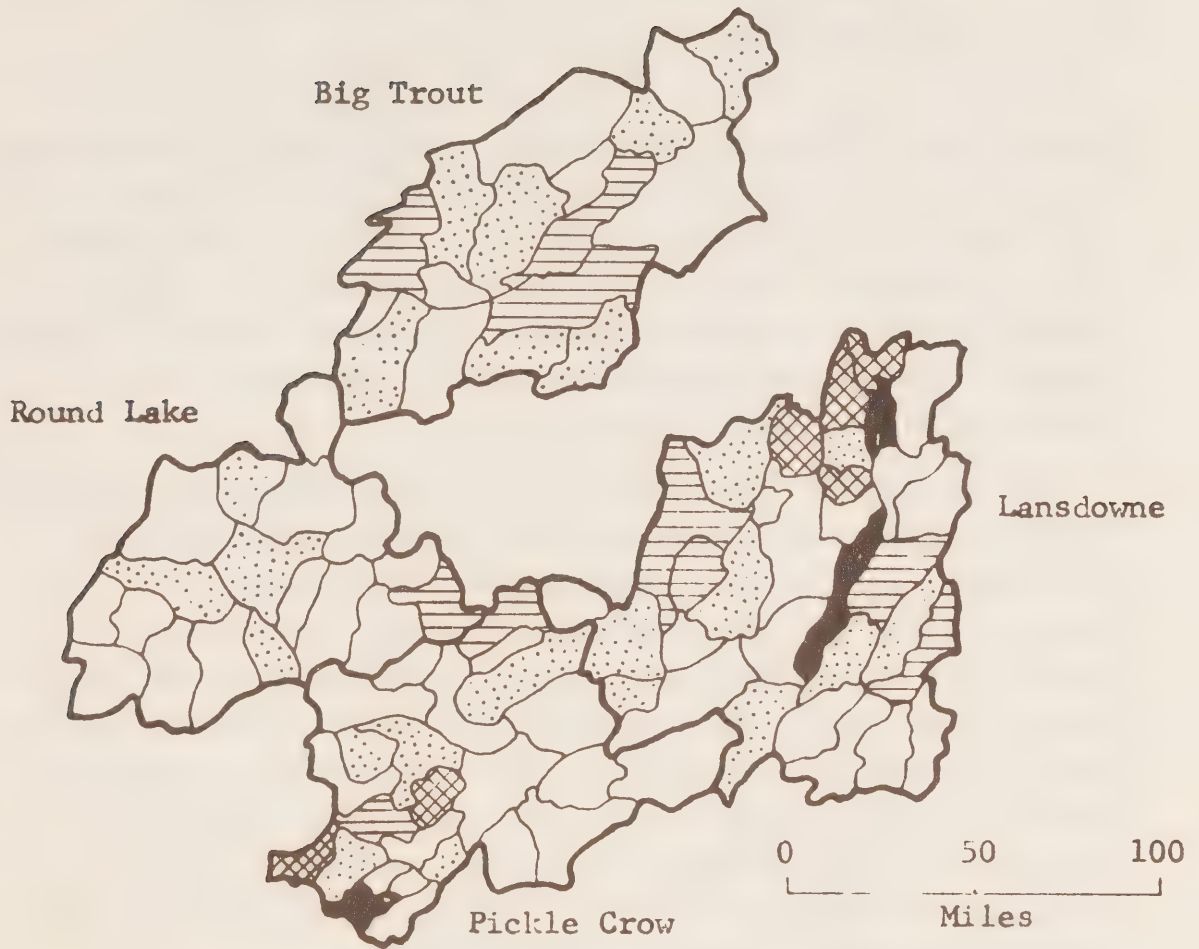
Figure 2:31

BEAVER HARVESTS

Number of Beaver Pelts Per Square Mile

.000 - .070
 .071 - .140
 .141 - .210
 .210 - .280
 .280 - .350+



Figure 2:32 TRAPPER DENSITY

Number of Trappers Per Square Mile

.0000 - .0100

.0101 - .0150

.0151 - .0200

.0200 - .0250

.0250 - .0300



CONCLUSIONS - FUR HARVEST ANALYSIS

The purpose of the Fur Harvest Analysis was to try to evaluate on the basis of available information, the future of trapping as an occupation for Round Lake men.

Analysis of the data on fur returns and trapper activity for Round Lake during the 19-year period from 1949 - 1967 indicates that trapping has remained an important occupation for Round Lake men. Downward trends in harvests and activity appear to have been related to environmental factors rather than to a decline in trapper interest. That the percentage of the male population engaged in trapping has dropped is largely a result of the younger males being in school and the older ones retiring on payment of Old Age Security.

Two factors have made difficult an accurate evaluation of the effect of normal trapping on animal populations. First, the period under investigation was atypical in that harvests of furbearers and trapper activity were influenced by an epizootic of tularemia. Secondly, the means of recording trapper harvests, i.e. by the trapper's trapline number not by the actual source of fur, has produced a picture which is inaccurate to an unknown degree. It is known that trapping around the village was heavier than indicated by recorded trapline harvests; it is not known how much heavier. However, the beaver research done during 1968-70 does not indicate that over-trapping has occurred in the village area, at least not in recent years.

A comparison of Round Lake trappers with those of three similar areas has shown that the Round Lake trapper is relatively efficient. If Round Lake follows the pattern observed at Pickle Crow, trapping may attract fewer men if a reasonable alternative for employment develops in the village in future. Those that do trap may become more selective seeking the animals of highest economic value, and may switch to other employment in years of low fur prices.

Barring radical changes within the village or from outside, it appears that trapping will remain a stable occupation for a majority of Round Lake men. The fur resource appears to be capable of supporting heavier trapping pressure -- allowing for a greater number of trappers and for larger harvests by those now trapping.

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CHAPTER 8

THE FISH RESOURCE IN THE ROUND LAKE BAND AREA

by

F. Maher
Fish and Wildlife BranchINTRODUCTION

The lakes of the 5000 square mile Band area have been an important source of food and more recently of cash income for the Round Lake Ojibwa. Within the past decade the commercial fishery has developed into one of the three major sources of income. The future prospects of commercial fishing as a means of livelihood for the village men is therefore of considerable importance.

Research was undertaken in 1968 to evaluate the potential of the resource to sustain or expand the commercial fishery. A second area of concern was the capability of the resource to support a sport fishery.

METHODS

During a period from 1960-1965 several of the larger lakes in the Band area were surveyed by the Fish and Wildlife Branch. This material was supplemented by a two-man field crew during 1968 and 1969 working on Weagamow and North Caribou Lakes. The standard lake survey of the Fisheries Inventory Unit was carried out — echo sounding, fish sampling and water analysis work. Scale samples were taken from a representative number of fish. These samples were analyzed to obtain information on growth rates.

Of the more than 2,500 lakes in the Band area there is information on eighteen, and detailed information for only six of these.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LAKES

The Band area is drained by the waters of two large river systems -- the Winisk and the Severn. Drainage is poorly established due to the relatively level nature of the Shield topography. The geological nature of the area is reflected in the low productivity of the lakes. The lakes are shallow and their bottoms are covered with a thin layer of gravel, sand or clay which does not support a great deal of aquatic

flora or fauna. Most lakes because of their shallowness, rarely exhibit thermal stratification.

NORTH CARIBOU LAKE

Physical and Chemical Characteristics: North Caribou is a large (131 square miles), open lake, subjected to wind action from any direction during open water season. Because of the general shallowness of North Caribou, thermal stratification only occurs for a short period of the year (the end of July - beginning of August), and is found only in the deep area of the lake near the mouth of Windigo Bay. The bottom of North Caribou Lake is moderately flat, interspersed with reefs and islands. The lake is well oxygenated, some 8.0 parts per million on average, a reflection of the shallowness and the effect of wind action on open water which results in thorough mixing of the water. The values for physical and chemical determinations on this lake were undertaken by Ryder (1961) and are given in Table 2:22. Variations were least for total alkalinity and greatest for total phosphorus, between stations on the lake.

Lake Trout - *Salvelinus namaycush*: The population in North Caribou was found to be a very restricted one. The lake survey crew and commercial fishermen caught no lake trout during the summer of 1969. It would appear that the population has dropped to a very low level.

Yellow Pickerel - *Stizostedion vitreum* (Mitchell) : In 1959-60 a total of 335 yellow pickerel were examined from North Caribou Lake most being caught in gill nets, a few by angling. Ryder (1961) calculated that males and females appeared to have the same growth rate up to the age of nine years. After this, females grew at a faster rate. Male yellow pickerel appeared to mature at ages ranging from 7 (75%) to 11 (100%) at lengths 16.3 - 17.6 inches. Females however showed maturity by age 10 at 18.8 inches. However, a large proportion (75%) are mature by 7 to 8 years.

Analysis of data gathered in 1969 shows that there has been a definite shift from older, larger fish to a population of younger, smaller fish. Table 2:17 shows a comparison between the yellow pickerel from the 1959-60 collection and those collected in the summer of 1969.

Table 2:17. YELLOW PICKEREL - NORTH CARIBOU

<u>Number</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Length range</u>	<u>Mean length</u>	<u>Increment</u>
<u>1959 - 1960</u>				
3	3+	7.7 - 8.9	8.5	-
1	4+	10.2	10.2	1.7
5	5+	11.2 - 12.8	12.1	1.9
7	6+	10.8 - 14.5	12.4	0.3
13	7+	12.8 - 16.7	14.6	2.2
24	8+	13.0 - 17.5	16.1	1.5
33	9+	12.6 - 19.1	17.0	0.9
84	10+	15.0 - 20.3	18.0	1.0
49	11+	15.2 - 21.1	18.2	0.2
38	12+	16.3 - 21.6	19.4	1.2
31	13+	16.3 - 25.5	20.5	1.1
19	14+	20.0 - 26.0	22.6	2.1
15	15+	19.6 - 26.1	22.9	0.3
4	16+	24.0 - 26.4	24.9	2.0
6	17+	20.7 - 26.5	23.9	-
2	18+	27.4 - 27.8	27.6	2.7
1	19+	22.1	22.1	-
<u>1969</u>				
3	2+	7.6 - 7.7	7.6	-
4	3+	10.0 - 10.5	10.1	2.4
32	4+	11.1 - 15.0	13.1	3.0
26	5+	14.0 - 16.5	14.6	1.5
11	6+	15.7 - 17.2	17.0	2.4
4	7+	18.5 - 19.0	18.8	1.8

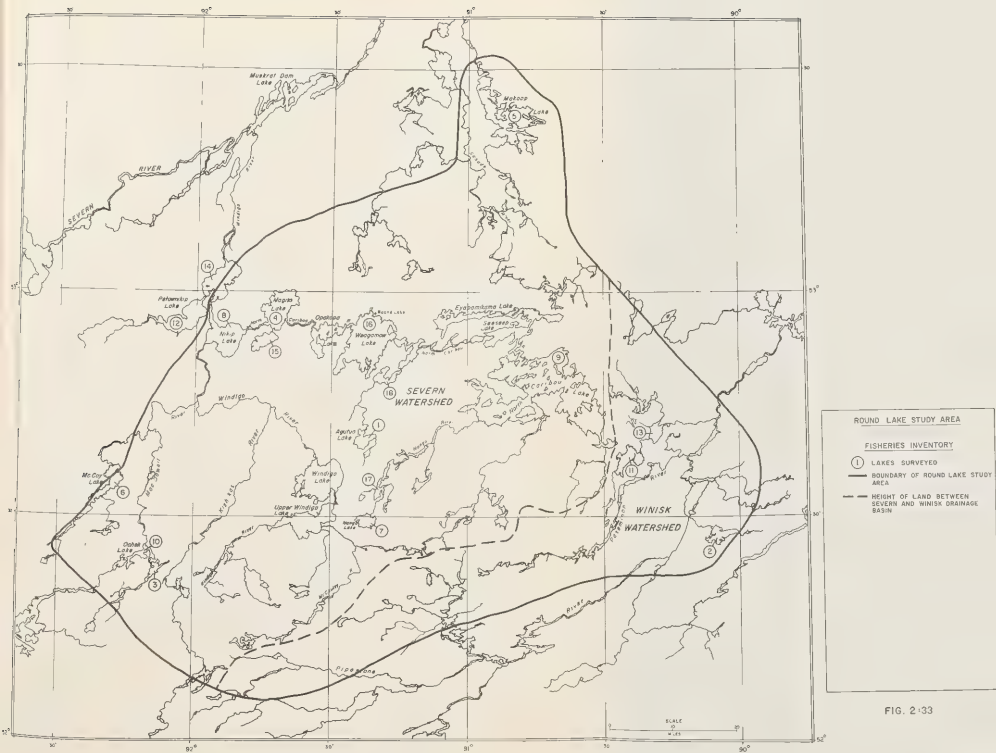


FIG. 2-33

A statistical comparison of the samples taken in 1959-60 and 1969 was undertaken to determine any changes in the length-age ratio during the intervening years. The analysis was limited to the III - VII age range by the lack of sample fish in the younger and older age groups.

Statistical analysis: Using an analysis of co-variance the homogeneity of variance was tested and no significant difference observed, that is, a variance ratio or F test of $3.35_{3,3}$ gave a probability of about 30%. The two slopes or regression coefficients were then examined, an F test of $8.42_{1,6}$ which gave a probability of approximately 3% (or p of .03). This is a significant difference. Since the slopes are obviously different (Figure 2:34) the final test, one of comparison of the two elevations of the graph lines was not needed. However, the F test for the elevations gave $33.57_{1,7}$ or a probability of 0.5% (p of 0.005), confirming a very significant difference in the elevation of the two curves. This analysis would suggest that in the intervening years between the two collections a significantly higher length/age ratio has developed. The absence of samples from the older age groups, above 9+ would suggest that in the intervening years 1959-1969, North Caribou has been extensively fished. Whether the introduction in 1968 of the 4-inch mesh has contributed to the decline in the older age-groups can at present not be substantiated.

Whitefish - Coregonus clupeaformis (Mitchell). This fish is the most important one commercially in North Caribou. Ryder (1961) analyzed 392 whitefish of which age groups 8 to 10 made up 50% of the collection sampled, using a $4\frac{1}{2}$ inch mesh. Both sexes appeared to mature between 6 and 8 years. Further scale samples were taken in 1969 and have been subsequently statistically analyzed and compared with 1959-60 collection. Besides scale samples, twenty-two collections of small fish were obtained for identification (see Table 2:21), also water samples, aquatic flora and soundings were made. Similar studies were conducted in 1969.

Table 2:18 shows a comparison between the whitefish from 1959-60 and 1969.

YELLOW PICKEREL - NORTH CARIBOU LAKE
LENGTH/AGE RELATIONSHIPS FOR 1959 and 1969

Figure 2:34

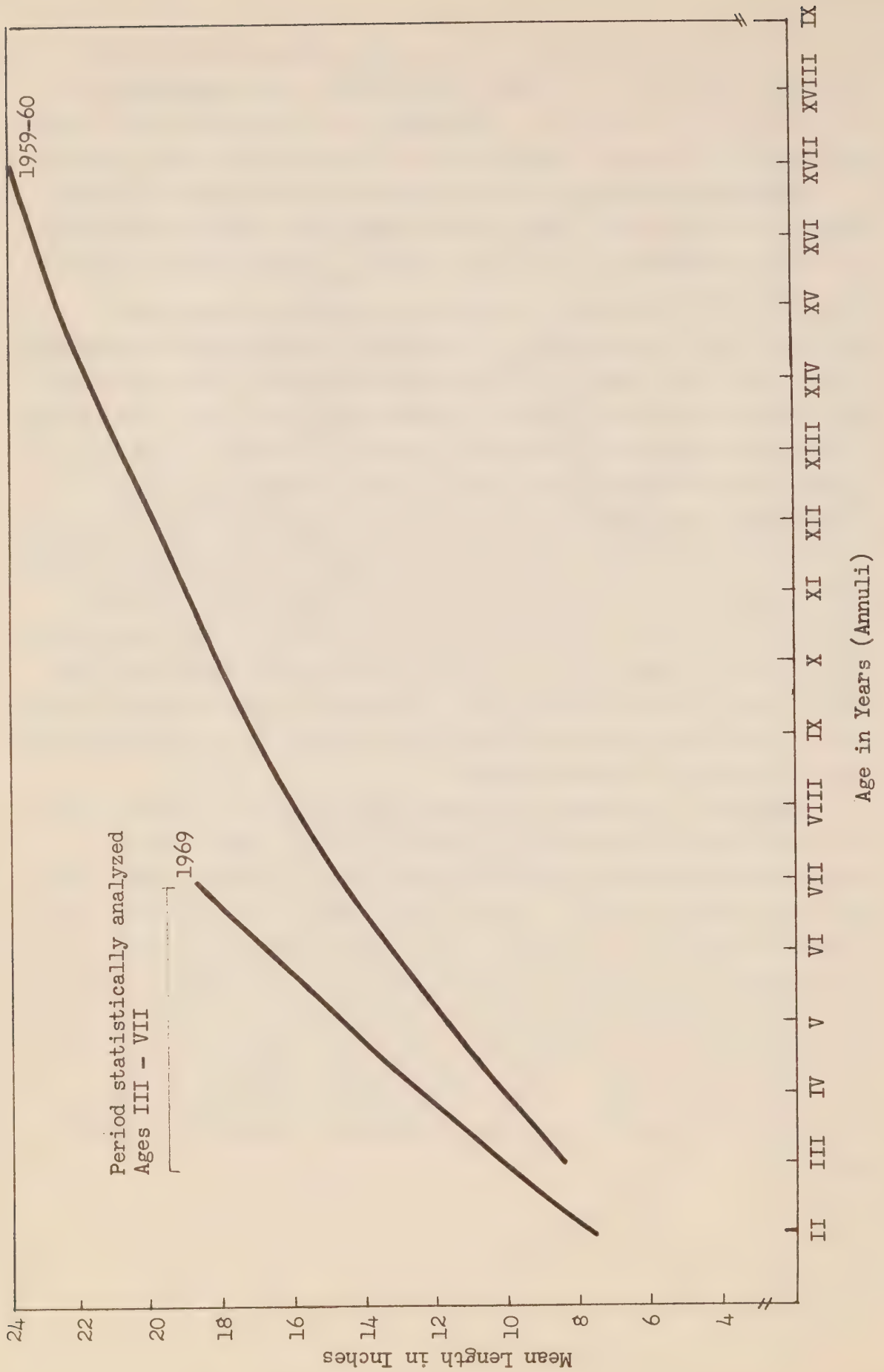


Table 2:18 WHITEFISH - NORTH CARIBOU

<u>Number</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Length range</u>	<u>Mean Length</u>	<u>Increment</u>
<u>1959-60</u>				
3	3+	9.9 - 13.4	11.4	-
6	4+	13.0 - 15.1	14.1	2.7
15	5+	13.4 - 17.8	15.1	1.0
20	6+	13.8 - 17.6	16.2	1.1
40	7+	15.8 - 18.6	17.2	1.0
84	8+	16.3 - 20.2	17.7	0.5
58	9+	16.5 - 20.7	18.4	0.7
50	10+	17.6 - 21.6	18.9	0.5
28	11+	17.1 - 20.5	18.9	
28	12+	18.1 - 21.5	19.8	0.9
11	13+	18.6 - 20.6	19.5	
25	14+	18.6 - 21.8	19.9	0.1
6	15+	19.3 - 20.7	20.2	0.3
8	16+	18.5 - 22.6	20.7	0.5
4	17+	20.1 - 20.8	20.5	
5	18+	19.5 - 21.9	20.8	0.1
1	19+	20.1	20.1	
<u>1969</u>				
4	2+	9.1 - 11.5	10.2	
8	3+	11.0 - 13.1	12.3	2.1
15	4+	12.3 - 13.9	13.0	0.7
32	5+	12.0 - 16.5	15.1	2.1
47	6+	13.5 - 18.0	16.6	1.5
27	7+	16.5 - 19.0	17.7	1.1
6	8+	18.0 - 21.0	19.4	1.7
2	9+	20.0 - 20.5	20.25	0.85

Whitefish - Statistical analysis for ages III - IX - The samples of the two whitefish populations for 1959-60 and 1969 were subjected to the same test as the yellow pickerel. From the graph (Figure 2:35) we can see that there appears to be very little variation in the mean length/age ratio for these two populations. This was upheld by the following tests.

A test for the homogeneity of variance gave an F test of $6.85_{5,5}$, significant at the 3% level. The homogeneity of variance is therefore significantly different. Although we recognize that the other two parts of the test are not as valid because of this difference they were completed for the sake of interest. The F test for the difference in slope gave $F = 1.09_{1,10}$ which does not become significant until the 30% level and therefore the slopes are accepted as being statistically the same. The third test, one for the difference in elevations gave an F test = $3.26_{1,11}$ which became significant at the 20% level, again not significantly different. From this analysis, it would appear that there is very little variation between the two whitefish populations with reference to length/age ratio. However, again we find the absence of older fish, a probable result of the increased fishing pressure.

WEAGAMOW LAKE (ROUND LAKE)

Physical and Chemical Characteristics: Round Lake lies about 1,000 feet above sea level, has a surface area of 31,729 acres and a shoreline of 91.55 miles. A complete physical and chemical analysis was undertaken in 1968 the results of which are shown in Table 2:22. Biological investigation of the fish fauna present was also undertaken, the results of which are shown in Table 2:21. The principal commercial fish are yellow pickerel and whitefish; some northern pike are also caught.

A total of 200 yellow pickerel scales and 75 whitefish scales were collected from the commercial fishery ($4\frac{1}{2}$ inch mesh) at Weagamow during 1969. Of these 21 yellow pickerel scales (randomly sampled) and all of the 75 whitefish scales were read. Age determinations for these scale samples are shown in Table 2:19. A graph of mean length / age is shown in Figure 2:36.

WHITEFISH - NORTH CARIBOU LAKE
LENGTH/AGE RELATIONSHIPS FOR 1959 & 1969

Figure 2:35.

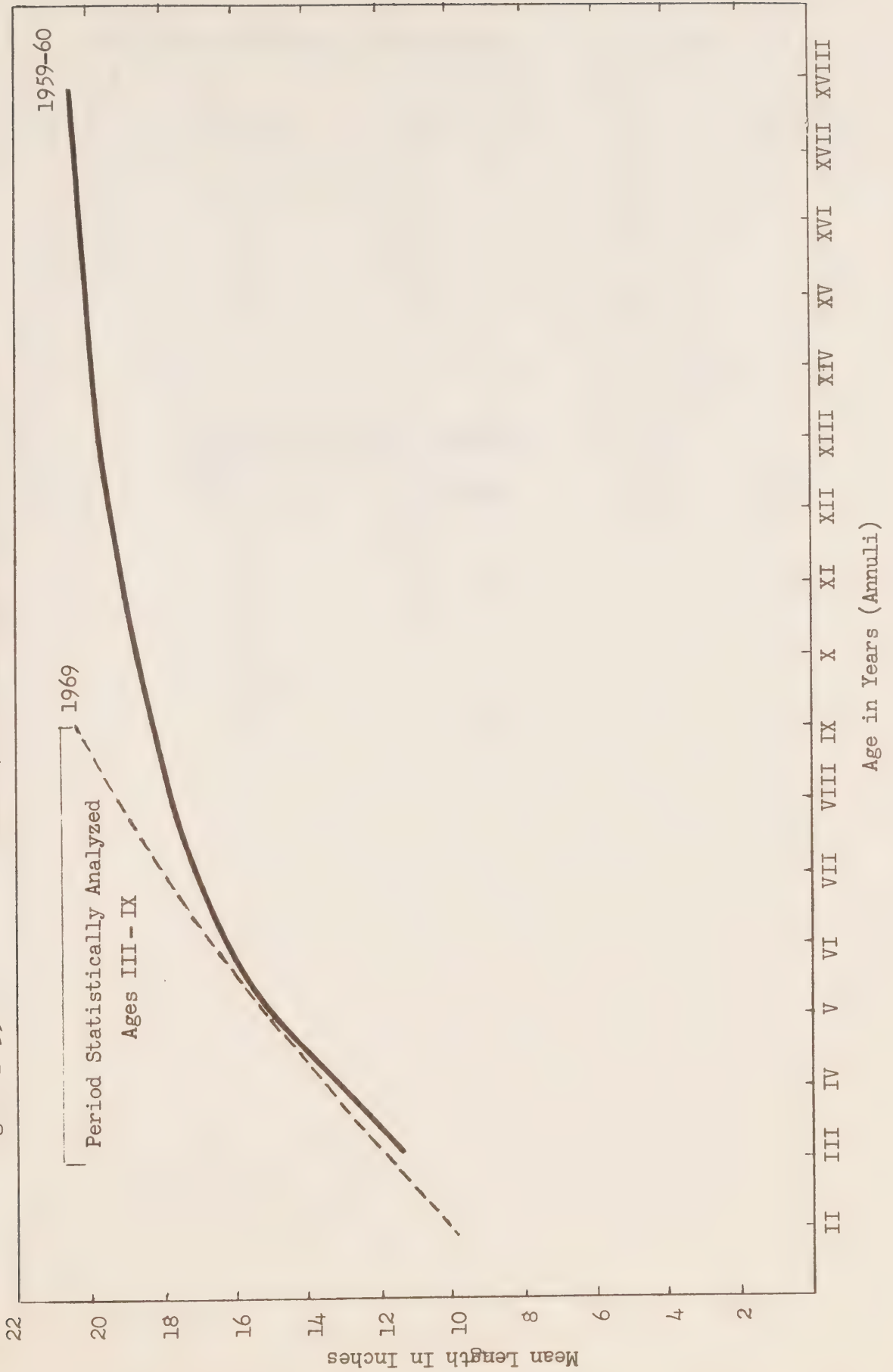


Table 2:19

YELLOW PICKEREL - WEAGAMOW LAKE 1969

<u>Number</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Length range</u>	<u>Mean Length</u>	<u>Increment</u>
6	5+	14.2 - 16.4	15.2	-
6	6+	15.8 - 17.8	16.7	1.5
7	7+	18.1 - 20.3	19.2	2.5
2	8+	19.5 - 21.2	20.3	0.9

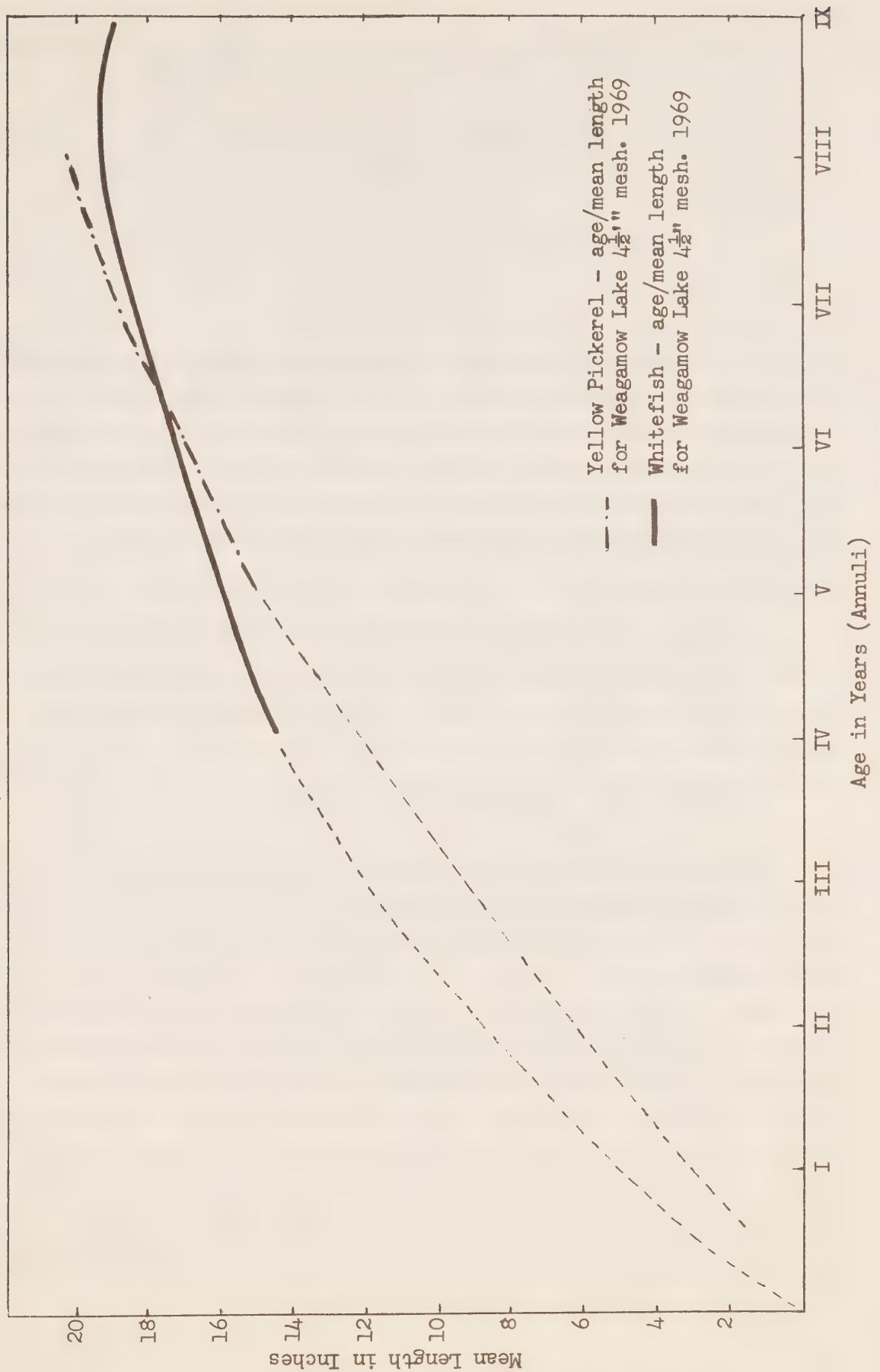
 21 - Total
WHITEFISH - WEAGAMOW LAKE 1969

<u>Number</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Length range</u>	<u>Mean Length</u>	<u>Increment</u>
4	4+	14.2 - 15.0	14.6	-
23	5+	14.6 - 16.6	15.6	1.0
25	6+	16.5 - 18.0	17.4	1.8
12	7+	17.8 - 19.1	18.5	1.1
9	8+	18.4 - 20.7	19.5	1.0
1	9+	18.9	18.9	-

 75 - Total

WHITEFISH AND YELLOW PICKEREL - WEAGAMOW LAKE
LENGTH/AGE RELATIONSHIPS FOR 1969

Figure 2:36



A statistical analysis for variation between populations of whitefish and yellow pickerel from North Caribou and Round Lakes.

A statistical comparison was made of the mean length / age of whitefish from both North Caribou and Round Lakes for 1969. A test for the homogeneity of variance gave an F test of $8.05_{5,5}$ which became significant at the 20% level. An F test for the difference in slopes gave $1.09_{1,8}$ significant at the 40% level. An F test for the elevation of the curves gave $3.13_{1,9}$ significant at 15%. For our purposes there were no variations. These tests were repeated for yellow pickerel giving an F test for the homogeneity of variance of $2.56_{1,1}$ significant at a level of greater than 50%. An F test for the slopes gave $9.33_{2,1}$ significant at 20% level. An analysis of the elevation of the curves gave $1.12_{3,1}$ significant at greater than 50%. Again these results did not show a significant variation. We have therefore two populations of fish from different lakes that show very similar growth rates.

NIKIP GROUP OF LAKES

The study of this group of lakes started in 1961-1963 as a part of a more comprehensive survey involving other lakes outside the Round Lake area and the Nikip group comprising Sakwaso, Nikip, Petownikip and Magiss Lakes. This survey was presented by Lewis et al (1964). A further study was undertaken by Miyata (1963).

Physical and Chemical Characteristics: The Nikip group of lakes was originally innundated by the extinct pleistocene lake - Lake Agassiz. This area is drained by the Severn watershed. The lakes are shallow with maximum depths of 12 to 13 feet during their shallowest period in the summer. The lake bottoms are flat and consist of clay-like sediments. Of all the lakes in the Round Lake area the Nikip group show the strongest eutrophic tendencies, a reflection of the high value of dissolved substances. These lakes are all well oxygenated. However, during the summer when the water warms, the oxygen concentration falls a little. There was no evidence of a thermocline because of the shallowness and general exposure to wind action. These lakes in general are neutral to slightly alkaline, Secchi disc readings varied

from two to six feet. This variation was mainly a result of wind action and varying plankton concentrations.

Standard gill nets were set in the Nikip Lakes from 1959 - 1963. Sturgeon, yellow pickerel and whitefish were taken. The majority of sturgeon came from Nikip and Magiss Lakes.

The Nikip group exhibit a sport fishing potential that is as yet unexploited.

MAKOOP LAKE

Physical and Chemical Characteristics: This lake contains four basins connected by shallow narrows. The lower lake basins are shallow and contain numerous stony shoals, about 10 feet to 15 feet in diameter, lying within five feet of the surface. The lake bottom is sandy with abundant surface plankton. The inflowing stream, numerous underwater shoals, and stony narrows offer spawning areas for yellow pickerel.

Length and weight relationships for yellow pickerel of Makoop Lake are similar to those of the Nikip group of lakes.

This lake was commercially fished in 1967 and 1968 but poor catches were obtained (Table 2:20).

FORESTER LAKE

This lake received a superficial survey in 1963. It was found that this lake offers little potential for sports fishing and was commercially fished in 1966 and 1967. Since then, no commercial fishing has been undertaken. Physical and chemical determinations are shown in Table 2:22; commercial catches are given in Table 2:20.

WAPAKISAPIKA LAKE

This lake is not suitable for sport fishing and has not been fished commercially. (See Table 2:22 for physical and chemical data.)

YOYUY LAKE

A survey of this lake was undertaken in July 1964. Yoyoy Lake has an area of 2,134 acres and is therefore rather small. During the survey the lake was sampled by gill nets, varying in mesh size

from one and a half inches to six inches. Small northern pike, yellow pickerel and whitefish were taken, which indicated that the lake was of no value for commercial fishing purposes. For physical and chemical data see Table 2:22.

WINDIGO AND UPPER WINDIGO LAKES

These lakes have never been surveyed. They support a large Indian commercial fishery based on whitefish and yellow pickerel. The Indians usually fish these lakes in spring and take large catches within a few weeks. The total area of these two lakes is 33 square miles. For commercial catches see Table 2:20.

THE COMMERCIAL FISHERY¹

Records for commercial catches date back to 1951. The present operation in the Round Lake area involves some twenty to thirty fishermen employed fully or partially during the year. Certain lakes are fished in the summer and fall, while others such as Windigo, Opapimiskan and Skinner are fished in the early spring. The only non-Indian commercial fishery, the Severn Enterprise, situated on North Caribou, has been in operation for fifteen years. While the most common fish taken are whitefish and yellow pickerel, pike and sturgeon are also taken in numbers. Total catches for the past few years in licensed lakes are: 1966 - 328,101 pounds; 1967 - 318,251 pounds; 1968 - 381,716 pounds; 1969 - 253,636 pounds. The drop in the 1969 figure is probably a result of the Indians not fishing North Caribou in that year. The value of the 1969 catch is approximately \$38,755.00. This figure excludes the value of the Severn Enterprise catch on North Caribou.

The prices paid in 1969 to fishermen were: -

whitefish (dressed)	- 9¢ - 54¢	per pound depending on size
yellow pickerel (dressed)	- 36¢ - 41¢	" " " " "
yellow pickerel (round)	- 23¢ - 33¢	" " " " "
northern pike	- 8¢ - 13¢	" " " " "

1. A description of the development and operation of the Commercial Fishery at the local level is presented in the Ethnological part of this report.

Sturgeon Fishing: Since January 1969, no new commercial sturgeon licences have been issued. Old licences are being renewed but transfers and the issue of new licences are not being permitted. There has been a decline in commercial catches of sturgeon over the period 1961 - 1968 in the Sioux Lookout district. Figures for catches from this area for 1961 were 42,177 pounds. In 1966 this figure had dropped to 4,019 pounds. Sturgeon now appear on the endangered species list in the Sioux Lookout Lands and Forests district. At present a study centered at Geraldton is determining the extent of sturgeon in Northern Ontario. This resource should not be further exploited until the situation is clarified.

FACTORS AFFECTING THE COMMERCIAL FISHERY

The ability of the Round Lake Fishery to provide a good income to the village is dependent upon more than the efficiency of the fishermen involved. Lake quotas, fish prices, market conditions and fishing regulations are all factors affecting the Fishery but determined by people and circumstances over which the Indian fisherman has no control. It is these outside influences which will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

Quotas - Quotas have been established for all the lakes utilized by the commercial fishery. As these quotas were based initially on rather limited knowledge of lake productivity, it was felt that information collected during this study might lead to revision. The fishermen have in some years exceeded these quotas on some lakes - particularly on Weagamow Lake (Table 2:20). However their catch on other lakes is far below the quota.

Although the productivity studies have not yet been completed for North Caribou and Weagamow Lakes the data collected during 1968 and 1969 does indicated that the quotas should not be increased. The absence of older age groups was noted at both Weagamow and North Caribou. This was considered to be a reflection of increased fishing pressure.

Prices: The McIvor Commission set up in 1965 to study Canada's Inland Fisheries indicated that fishermen of areas such as Round Lake were not receiving a fair return for their efforts. The effects of

inefficiencies in transportation, handling, processing and marketing were all passed on to the fishermen in the form of low prices. As a result of this Commission a crown corporation acting under the Fresh Water Fish Marketing Board was established in 1969.

The Corporation will act as the sole buyer and seller of fish in Northwestern Ontario, the Prairie Provinces and N.W.T. Quality control will be introduced, marketing and processing will be improved. The end result should be higher prices to the fishermen. Other benefits introduced by the Corporation are the availability of credit for seasonal expenses of the fishermen and price recognition of size and quality fish.

Field work ended before the 1970 summer fishing season had started. It is therefore difficult to determine the actual effect the establishment of the Corporation has had on the Round Lake fishermen.

Feasibility of Establishing a Filleting and Packing Plant: One of the major problems faced by the Indian fishermen is the considerable amount of spoilage of fish awaiting transportation to market or the processing plant. The dependence on air transportation means not only high costs but delays in shipping due to poor weather. These are costs the fishermen must absorb. One partial solution to this problem would be better facilities for storage or holding at Round Lake. The development of such a facility has been suggested.

In 1960 a report concerning the feasibility of establishing filleting plants in the Patricias was submitted (Milko, 1960). The report indicated fish dealers were becoming increasingly interested in establishing such plants. The two locations in question were the Round Lake, North Caribou Lake area, or the Wunnummin area. In the following year Milko suggested Wunnummin Lake as the most suitable site geographically for such a plant, the reason being that most of the lakes in the Round and North Caribou area are close enough to make a viable economic proposition if the fish were filtered through the Wunnummin plant. However, he suggested that if the employment of local Indian labour was considered as contributing to the economic well-being of the commercial fishery, then perhaps two smaller plants rather than one large one could be constructed which would

give employment over a wider area.

In January 1970 the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development proposed that a fish filleting, storing and packing plant be built at Round Lake. The feasibility of such a development is now the subject of a detailed study. However several factors combine to suggest that a filleting plant should not be encouraged, at least at the present time. Catches in the Round Lake Fishery are too small to make a filleting plant economic; if it were to serve a larger area transportation costs on the present fly-in fly-out basis would be too high. Such a plant would have a detrimental effect on the established plant at Pickle Lake. J. Brubacher¹ suggested that a more feasible plant would be a good packing and short holding facility so that, at minimum cost, the fishery on Round Lake could realize the prices available for highest quality products.

Decrease in Mesh Size: Lewis (1963) suggested that the present $4\frac{1}{2}$ inch mesh restriction was one factor preventing maximum harvest of fish. He based his arguments on the fact that the maximum catch per unit effort for yellow pickerel occurred in three inch mesh or less. He proposed that when size demands of the commercial market were considered, a gill net mesh of 4 inches (stretched), in which the incidence of maturity was 95%, would produce a yield more desirable than the $4\frac{1}{2}$ inch mesh in use at that time. Lewis (1964) a year later again advocated a reduction in mesh size and proposed a three year program to study the harvest of 4 inch gill nets in the Patricias. Armstrong (1964) secured permission for the use of 4 inch nets in Makoop Lake, a relatively virgin lake. The results of this operation produced data on the age, total length, sex and size of sexual maturity of 633 yellow pickerel and total weights on 100 yellow pickerel. Analysis of these data produced the following results:

- The growth of yellow pickerel in Makoop Lake was slower than their counterparts in the Red Lakes of Minnesota.
- The fish harvested were of the older age group: 98% of the sample were older than 6; 50% of the sample fell in the 9 and 10 year classes.

1 Written communication, J. Brubacher, Commercial Fisheries, Department of Lands and Forests, October 23, 1970.

- Of the fish sampled 2.2% of the males were immature while 9.7 of the females were immature.
- Males were suspected to reach maturity at age 7; females at age 8.

Armstrong was fully aware that the virgin nature of Makoop Lake might be producing a picture that was unduly favourable. In January 1965, permission was obtained for the use of 4 inch gill nets in ten Patricia Lakes. During the summer of 1965 the Fish and Wildlife Branch sampled the harvests from nine of these ten licensed lakes. In their report, Rousom and Olver (1965) obtained data on age, total length, weight, sex and the state of sexual maturity of 1,676 yellow pickerel and 1,186 whitefish. Their results are shown below.

Yellow Pickerel:— Growth rates were slower than for their counterparts in Minnesota. In the 14 inch to 18 inch length, 0.1 pounds was added for every half-inch increase in length. This length is the range most susceptible to 4 inch nets.

- The incidence of maturity in these nets is 97.5% for the males and 89.5% for females. Maturity among males appears first in the age-class 6, amongst females in age-class 7 to 8.
- The majority of the fish lie in the 1.5 to 2.4 pound range; 70% to 80% are in the 1.0 pound to 1.9 pound range.

Whitefish: — The incidence of immaturity was at or below the 5% level. In one lake it rose to 17.6%.

- In all samples, the mean age composition lies between 8 and 9 years.
- In the majority, weights fall within the 1.5 to 2.5 pound range. The incidence of jumbo was 2% or lower.

Rousom and Olver expressed concern that the harvests they were examining involved only the larger slower growing fish that appeared to be most susceptible to this gear.

Due to a lack of comparative data on successive years of commercial exploitation of this lake, they were unable to give a positive recommendation for the introduction of the 4 inch mesh.

During the summer of 1966, this 4 inch mesh study continued (Penny 1966)

on seven lakes, one of which was North Caribou. It was found that the length class composition on North Caribou Lake yellow pickerel continued to lie within the 17.5 - 18.4 range. The rate of maturity remained well above the 90% level. However, the level of immaturity did rise from 5.42% to 7.02% in the period 1965 - 1966. One significant factor mentioned by Rousom and Olver was that one of the prinipal factors to be considered in the use of a smaller mesh in a commercial fishery is to ensure that the new gear will not reduce the breeding stock below a level that will guarantee the maintenance of the species involved and at an economic level.

In 1968 the 4 inch mesh was introduced into Northwestern Ontario. Since that time some opposition from the White commercial fishermen on North Caribou Lake has occurred. They state that although catches have increased in volume, individual size has deteriorated. Because of the short period since the introduction of the new mesh size, conclusive evidence to support their claim is not evident.

FUTURE OF THE COMMERCIAL FISHERY

Commercial catches for this area have been within the range of 250,000 pounds - 300,000 pounds over several years with a value of \$33,000 to \$35,000. However, further exploitation of this area for commercial fishing does not appear to be feasible. Many of the lakes are unproductive or relatively small.

Statistical analysis of the whitefish and yellow pickerel collected in the summer of 1969 were compared with mean length / age data collected from the same lake in 1959-60. The results show a significant increase in the mean length / age ratio. The results also show an absence of older age groups which most probably reflects the increased fishing pressure over the past ten years.

Although expansion of the Fishery does not appear feasible, improvements in the present operation promise to raise fishing incomes to some extent. However, the low productivity of the lakes, relatively small size of fish and high transportation costs will remain restrictive factors to fishing income in the village.

SPORT FISHERY

At present this area is little used by sportsmen. The potential exists for a limited sport fishery but fish sizes are generally smaller than those further south. Because of the unproductive nature of the lakes it is unlikely that they could withstand other than a light sport fishery.

In North Caribou Lake pike from five to twenty pounds have been taken in some of the bays, but the fishing tends to be spotty. Pike up to ten pounds were taken by angling in Weagamow Lake, but the lack of islands to provide shelter makes this lake hazardous in windy weather.

Since there are more than 2,500 lakes in the Study Area, there is a possibility of establishing fishing camps run by Indian guides. Even though individual lake productivity is low, a camp might be able to spread its activities over a group of lakes so as to achieve a sustained sport fishery. The Pickle Lake road will eventually pass within 24 miles of Round Lake and 40 miles of North Caribou Lake making these areas more easily accessible to sportsmen.

NOTE: Data collected during 1968 and 1969 are still being analyzed. A more detailed report will be prepared upon completion of this work.

Table 2:20 COMMERCIAL CATCHES 1966 - 1969 (SUMMER)

		1966	1967	1968	1969	Quotas
NIKIP	Whitefish	7,814	14,044	not licensed	15,046	20,000
	Y. Pickerel	5,839	3,020		4,000	4,000
	Pike	<u>765</u>	<u>1,024</u>		<u>1,996</u>	<u> </u>
	Total	14,418	18,088		21,042	
MAGISS & SENIA	Whitefish	12,090	12,778	14,652	20,038	20,000
	Y. Pickerel	16,130	2,336	15,201	2,477	10,000
	Pike	<u>-</u>	<u>271</u>	<u>4,276</u>	<u>2,687</u>	
	Total	28,220	15,385	34,129	25,202	
OPAKOPA	Whitefish	5,369	20,400	11,664	8,562	10,000
	Y. Pickerel	7,640	1,800	2,471	4,980	5,000
	Pike	<u>-</u>	<u>200</u>	<u>1,394</u>	<u>1,061</u>	
	Total	13,009	22,400	15,529	14,603	
EYAPAMIKAMA & SEESEEP	Whitefish	4,998	not licensed	30,137	3,516	35,000
	Y. Pickerel	13,972		10,730	5,926	6,000
	Pike	<u>-</u>		<u>9,308</u>	<u>2,719</u>	
	Total	18,970		50,175	12,161	
WEAGAMOW (ROUND)	Whitefish	29,332	50,489	53,111	39,987	40,000
	Y. Pickerel	28,501	6,813	4,645	17,477	18,000
	Pike	<u>-</u>	<u>190</u>	<u>1,879</u>	<u>5,214</u>	
	Total	57,833	57,492	59,635	62,678	
NORTH CARIBOU (Indian Fishermen)	Whitefish	87,919	80,913	63,603	-	100,000
	Y. Pickerel	12,545	21,207	20,400	700	12,500
	Pike	<u>-</u>	<u>4,300</u>	<u>12,099</u>	<u>-</u>	
	Total	100,464	106,420	96,102	700	
NORTH CARIBOU (Severn Enterprises)	Whitefish	5,120	18,703	12,351	28,300	40,000
	Y. Pickerel	8,285	12,838	6,300	4,474	12,500
	Pike	<u>3,833</u>	<u>11,358</u>	<u>2,200</u>	<u>7,307</u>	
	Total	17,238	42,899	20,851	40,081	
FORESTER	Whitefish	8,891	3,512	not licensed	not licensed	
	Y. Pickerel	1,652	1,497			
	Pike	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>			
	Total	10,543	5,009			
MAKOOP	Whitefish	not licensed	633	3,556	not licensed	
	Y. Pickerel		8,395	4,381		
	Pike		<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>		
	Total		9,028	7,937		
AGUTA, BERRY, NANGO, YOYOH & NAPITISKAICA	Whitefish	not licensed	not licensed	18,951	4,951	14,000
	Y. Pickerel			3,445	509	21,000
	Pike			<u>1,055</u>	<u>964</u>	
	Total			23,451	6,424	

Table 2:20 continued

COMMERCIAL CATCHES 1966 - 1969 (SPRING)

		1966	1967	1968	1969	Quotas
OPAPIMISKA, SKINNER & WAPASKEYA	Whitefish				6,490	14,000
	Y.Pickereel	not	not	not	3,100	6,000
	Pike	licensed	licensed	licensed	<u>3,266</u>	
	Total				12,856	
WINDIGO & UPPER WINDIGO	Whitefish	62,753	40,812	55,178	44,468	59,000
	Y.Pickereel	3,999	14,744	5,947	5,912	6,000
	Pike	<u>-</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>369</u>	<u>5,109</u>	
	Total	66,752	55,574	61,494	55,489	
AGUTA, BERRY, NANGO, YOYOY & NAPITISKAIIKA	Whitefish			2,056	-	14,000
	Y.Pickereel	not	not	10,337	2,321	21,000
	Pike	licensed	licensed	<u>-</u>	<u>19</u>	
	Total			12,393	2,340	

Table 2:21 DISTRIBUTION OF FISH SPECIES IN ROUND LAKE AREA

	Lake Sturgeon	Lake Trout	Lake Whitefish	Lake Herring	Nipigon	Northern Pike	Longnose Sucker	White Sucker	Northern Red-horse	Emerald Shiner	Spottail Shiner	Longnose Dace	Burbot	Ninespined Stickleback	Trout - Perch	Yellow - Perch	Sauger	Yellow Pickerel	Johnny Darter	Trout Perch	Mottled Sculpin	Fivespined Stickleback	Slimy Sculpin	River Darter
AGUTUA LAKE			x		x	x		x								x	x	x						
FORESTER LAKE	x	x	x			x		x								x		x						
KINASAO LAKE	x		x			x		x								x		x						
MAGISS LAKE	x		x			x		x	x									x						
MAKOOP LAKE			x	x		x		x					x			x								
MCCOY LAKE																								
NANGO LAKE			x	x	x			x					x			x								
NIKIP LAKE	x		x	x		x	x	x	x		x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x				
NORTH CARIBOU		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
OCHOK LAKE			x			x	x	x	x							x								
OPAPIMISKAN LAKE			x		x	x		x								x								
PETOWNIKIP LAKE	x		x			x		x	x							x	x							
SAKWASSO LAKE	x		x	x		x		x	x							x	x							
SKINNER LAKE			x		x	x		x										x						
WEAGAMOW LAKE			x	x		x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x

CHEMICAL & PHYSICAL FEATURES OF THE LAKES
IN THE ROUND LAKE AREA

Table 2:22

	Map Location	Area of water (acres)	Shore line (miles)	Factor Shore line	Mean Depth	Maximum Depth	Height above S.L.	Mean Temp. Surface °F
AGUTUA LAKE	1	3,686	18.5	2.2	-	25 ft	-	68.0
FORESTER LAKE	2	4,480	19.0	2.1	11 ft	15 ft	-	-
KINASAO LAKE	3	3,392	32.0	3.9	-	20 ft	-	-
MAGISS LAKE	4	13,440	46.3	-	9.7 ft	12 ft	1,015	-
MAKOOP LAKE	5	27,456	120	5.2	11 ft	40 ft	-	-
McCOY LAKE	6	6,560	37	3.3	15.7 ft	55 ft	-	-
NANGO LAKE	7	2,440	14.5	2.1	-	60 ft	-	68.0
NIKIP LAKE	8	13,632	35	2.9	5.8 ft	9.0 ft	1,015	61.6
NORTH CARIBOU LAKE	9	83,840	208	5.1	31 ft	126 ft	1,060	62.5 between 0.30 feet
OCHEK L LAKE	10	4,800	50	5.1	-	15 ft	-	-
OPAPIMISKAN LAKE	11	5,760	29	2.7	19 ft	50 ft	1,135	
PETOWNIKIP LAKE	12	12,416	49.5	-	5.8 ft	-	1,015	-
SKINNER LAKE	13	3,840	14	1.6	12 ft	50 ft	1,090	-
SAKWASSO LAKE	14	13,120	52	-	10 ft	12 ft	1,015	-
SENIA LAKE	15	4,112	19.5	-	-	-	-	-
WEAGAMOW LAKE	16	31,729	91.55	3.67	-	-	1,100	62.0
YOYOY LAKE	17	2,134	25	3.9	-	50 ft	-	-
WAPIKISHAPIKA LAKE	18	4,371	44	4.8	-	15 ft	-	-

Table 2:22 continued

CHEMICAL & PHYSICAL FEATURES OF THE LAKES
IN THE ROUND LAKE AREA

Temp. range	Ph. average surface	Ph. average bottom	Secchi average height	Secchi range	Total dissolved solids p.p.m.	Oxygen p.p.m. average	Total alk. p.p.m.	Year Surveyed
-	7.8	-	7.25	-	86	9.0	56	July 1964
-	7.6	-	5.5	-	54	8.0	40	August 1963
-	7.2	-	4.75	-	104	5.0	42	June 1964
-	-	-	-	2.6	-	-	-	June - August 1963
-	7.4	-	-	6.8	82	9.0	46	July 1963
-	8.2	-	5.7	-	74	12.0	34	August 1962
-	7.8	-	12.0	-	110	9.0	78	July 1964
-	8.1	8.0	3.4	2.6	76	9.0	-	June - August 1963
-	7.4	7.2	12.0	-	55	8.0	41	Summer 1960
-	7.2	-	5.0	-	70	5	26	June 1964
-	7.0	-	7.5	-	88	8	58	July 1963
-	-	-	3.4	2.6	76	9	-	June - August 1965
-	7.4	-	8.0	-	96	9	52	July 1963
-	-	-	-	2.6	-	9	-	June - August 1963
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Summer 1968
15.0 18.0	7.2	-	-	-	-	8.0	-	Summer 1968
-	-	-	9.5	-	-	-	-	July 1964
-	7.7	-	4.9	-	96	8	-	July 1964

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CHAPTER 9

FOREST RESOURCE

INVENTORY

A forest inventory of the Study Area was prepared by a Forest Resource Consultant. The inventory was prepared from 1955 aerial photographs on a scale of one inch to the mile; mapping was done at a scale of one inch to two miles. Attempts have been made to partially up-date the inventory by mapping the burns which have occurred in recent years. This up-dating was based on observations during field work.

SPECIES AND SITE

The Study Area lies near the northern edge of the forest zone classified as Northern Coniferous. The climax forest is Boreal spruce and balsam fir. Black spruce is the common species on both well-drained and poorly drained sites. Jackpine and mixed stands of white and black spruce, balsam fir and balsam poplar are found on the morainic ridges and other well drained locations. Spruce and tamarack swamps are common throughout the area, and are extensive in the north and northwest.

White birch and poplar are pioneer species in burned over areas.

VALUE OF RESOURCE

Local Use: Timber is of considerable value to the people of Round Lake. Wood is still the major source of heat for the home and for cooking, not only in the settlement but on the trapline and in the winter camps. This subject was dealt with more fully in a previous section.

Logs and lumber sawn in the local sawmill provide most of the building material. Some sawn lumber is sold to the Department of Indian Affairs for local construction and for distribution to other communities.

Commercial Use: When viewed on a broader scale, the value of the timber resource decreases greatly. The Consultant stated that only a few isolated areas were considered large enough to be classed as merchantable - about .01% of the area. Figure 2:37 indicates the

location of the areas of highest potential for commercial timber. This very generalized zoning was based on information from the Forest Inventory Map, surficial geology maps, and aerial observation.

Several factors combine to limit the commercial value: tree size, size of stand, quality of wood, accessibility, distance from market.

(a) Tree Size: Two conditions adversely affect tree growth over a large part of the area: climate and poor drainage. In general the trees tend to be rather small; on well-drained sites larger trees are found.

(b) Size of Stand: Extensive stands of good size trees are rare. Figure 2:37 shows a large area in the southwestern part of the Study Area as having a higher commercial value. However the better areas are interspersed with broad stretches of muskeg.

Forest fires have also tended to limit the size of better timber stands. The area has been burned over many times; until recently, the area lay outside the zone of fire protection.¹ Fire appears to have most affected the higher areas; that is the ridges and hills where conditions for tree growth are most favourable.

(c) Quality of Wood: The quality of the wood for lumber is reported to be fairly low because of its spongy nature.

(d) Accessibility: At present the timber is inaccessible for commercial use. However the road from Pickle Lake has pushed northward to the southern boundary of the Study Area. Lack of access cannot therefore be considered a serious limitation to commercial use in the near future.

(e) Distance to Market: Distance to the rail line and to market is presently prohibitive and is likely to remain so for many years. The northern limits of major timber operations for spruce and jack pine lie nearly two hundred miles south. These limits parallel, but run slightly north of, the Canadian National transcontinental line. The limit for spruce makes two northward loops - along the rail line to Moosonee, and

1 In 1969 the fire protection limit was extended northward and now includes the Study Area. However, it is expected that at present any fire fighting operations would be extended only if the settlement itself was endangered.

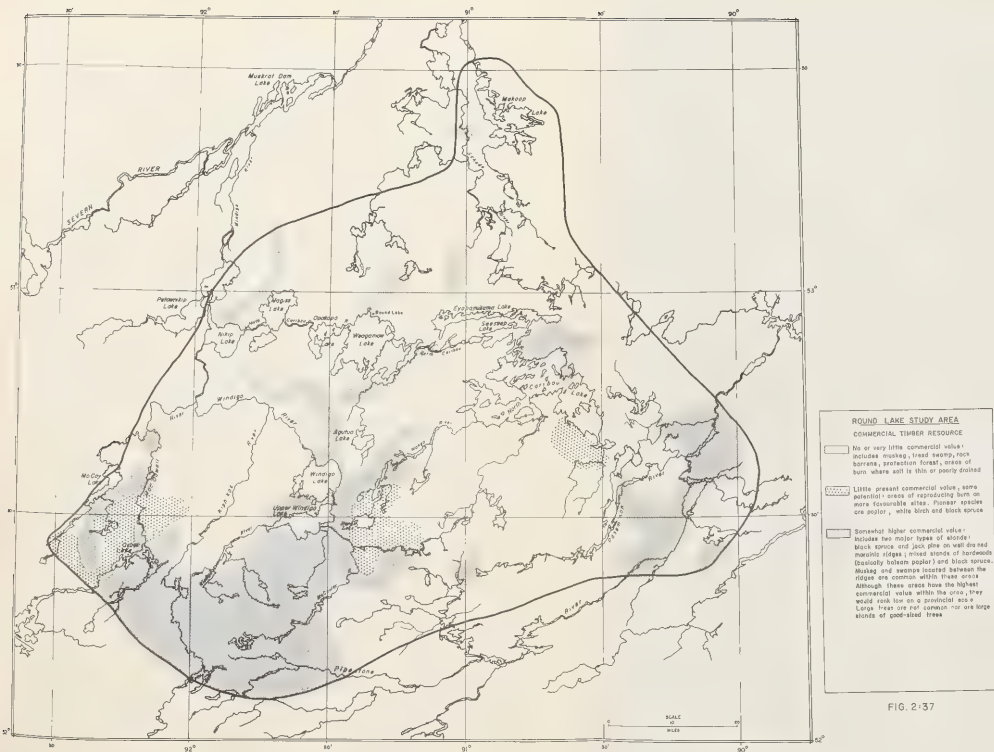


FIG. 2:37

into the Red Lake mining area. The limit of timber operations for poplar lies even further south, adjacent to the Canadian Pacific transcontinental line. It is thus apparent that a vast area of timber, largely unexploited, lies between the present area of commercial operation and the Study Area. This timber is not only more readily accessible, and closer to market, but is more desirable because of larger tree size and more extensive stands.

In summary, in the present state of the market, forest technology and alternate timber resources, the commercial value of the timber resource is very limited. However, if some development, such as a mining operation, does occur in the area, timber is available for construction and pit props.

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CHAPTER 10THE MINERAL RESOURCE

The area to be discussed is that section of Northwestern Ontario which lies north of 52°. It was felt that any development of the mineral resource south of this would have a limited impact upon the Round Lake community; this will be commented upon briefly at the conclusion of this section.

HISTORY OF EXPLORATION AND MINING ACTIVITY

Relative to other parts of the Shield in Ontario, geologic exploration and prospecting in the northern portion of the Patricia region, i.e. north of 52°, have been limited. Several factors combine to explain this apparent neglect: extensive areas of muskeg, lack of rock outcrop, deep overburden, remoteness, and the lack of any major mineral discoveries to stimulate interest.

Over the past few decades, some prospecting has been carried on in the belts of metavolcanic and metasedimentary rocks. Claims have been staked, but many were allowed to lapse when the mineralization proved to be low-grade or in uneconomic concentration. Two mines were in production in the 1940's, the Berens River Mine at Favourable Lake and the Sachigo River mine. Both were classified as gold mines but produced significant quantities of silver and some lead and zinc. During its period of operation, 1939-48, the Favourable Lake Mine produced ore valued at about 9.5 million dollars. Access to the mine was by a combination of air, water and winter roads.

During the past decade knowledge of the northern Patricia District has been greatly increased by reconnaissance geological and aeromagnetic surveys undertaken by the Federal and Provincial Governments and by mining companies. It would appear that this has stimulated interest, as an increasing number of mining companies and prospectors are working in the area.

At the present time there is no mineral production in the northern Patricia District. An underground drilling program was underway in 1969 at the old Favourable Lake site. Exploratory work was being carried on

by several mining companies in three areas during the summer of 1970 -- the Setting Net Lake, North Spirit Lake and Muskrat Dam Lake areas.

POSSIBILITIES FOR MINING DEVELOPMENT

Two factors will be considered in evaluating the possibility of mining development in this region: the nature of the mineral resource, the feasibility of developing this resource.

(a) Mineral Occurrence Possibilities: In the section on geology of the Round Lake Study Area the presence of belts of metamorphosed volcanic and sedimentary rocks was noted. Similar "greenstone" belts are found throughout the Shield section of the northern Patricia Region (Figure 2:38). These belts have proved to be very important mineral producing areas in other parts of the Canadian Shield, e.g. Red Lake and Porcupine. The presence of these "greenstone" belts is then one indication of some mineral potential.

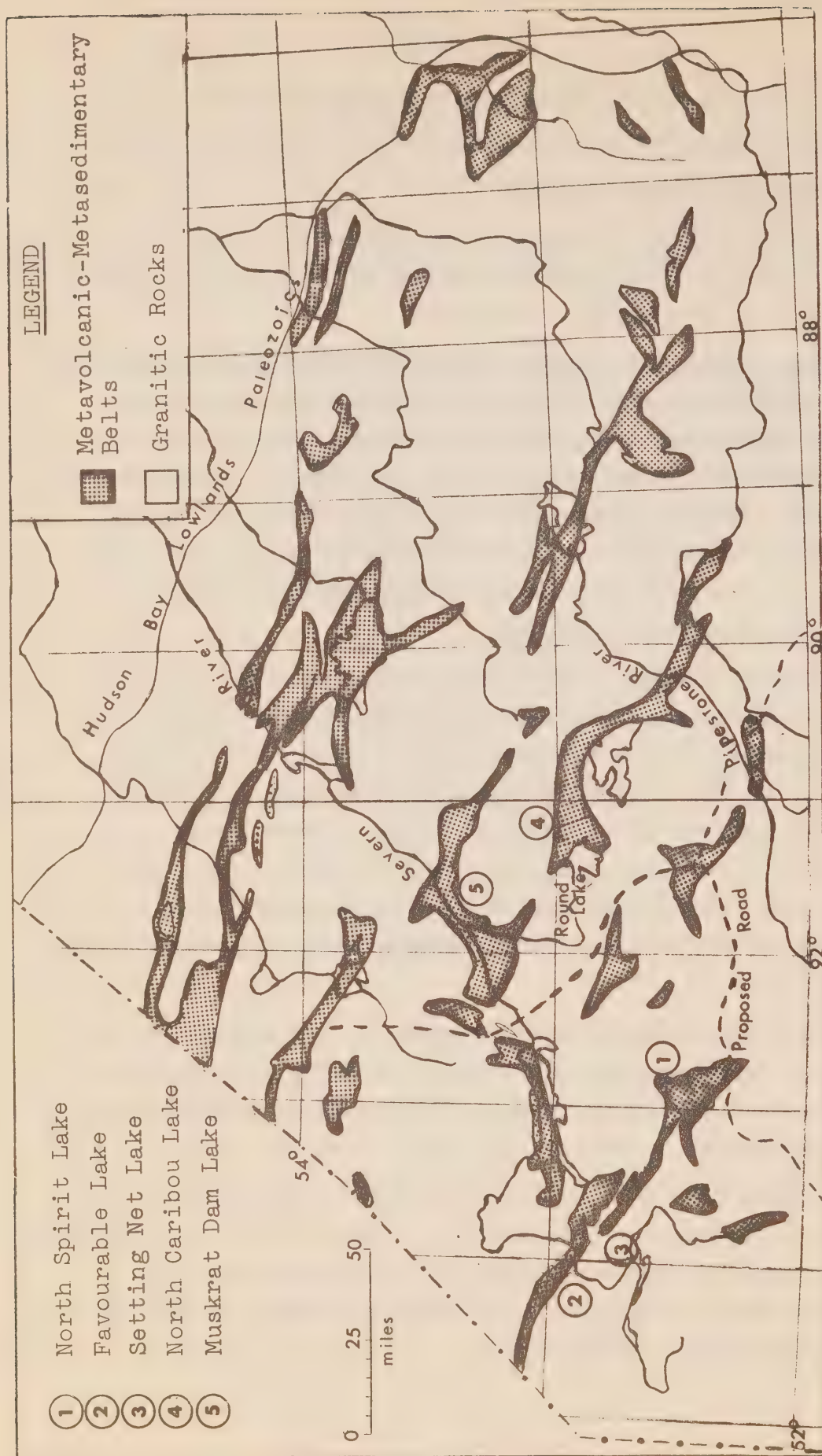
Over the past decades discoveries of gold, silver and base metals have been recorded along many of the belts; the major occurrences are shown in Figure 2:39. As noted in the section on Exploration and Mining, only two of these mineral occurrences had been of sufficient magnitude and quality to be amenable to mining. However, until recently, much of the prospecting has been for high-grade ores of precious metals. Deposits of base metals and lower grade ores, which under present technology would be significant, may have been overlooked, or left unrecorded.

The map of major mineral occurrences indicates a concentration of mineralization in the southwestern section. However, this may more accurately reflect greater prospecting activity due to easier access than higher potential.

On the basis of recorded mineral occurrences, and the recent reconnaissance geological and aeromagnetic surveys, the Ontario Department of Mines has reported that the northern Patricia region has major potential for gold, silver, copper, uranium, molybdenum, and niobium (Ayres, Bennett, Riley, 1969).

Figure 2:38

GENERALIZED GEOLOGICAL MAP



Source: Adapted from Fig.3, Geology and Mineral Possibilities in Northern Patricia District, Ontario, Ontario Department of Mines

Based upon present information, there are two areas which appear to have high potential. The first is at North Spirit Lake, the second along the Favourable Lake-Setting Net Lake belt (Figure 2:38). The former area has known occurrences of gold, silver, lead, copper, molybdenum and iron. Mining companies appear to have shown most interest in the iron deposits. Geophysical surveys and diamond drilling have indicated an economic deposit of iron on the southeast shore of the lake. Tonnage of ore has been estimated at 500-750 million tons grading about 30% iron (Riley, 1968). In the Favourable Lake area a lead-silver-zinc-gold ore is at present being investigated by a drilling program on the property of the abandoned mine. On the basis of this drilling approximately 600,000 tons are estimated to be available by the company consultant (Riley, 1968). The Setting Net Lake area lies directly southeast of Favourable Lake. In 1968 detailed geological investigations by geologists of the Department of Mines led to the discovery of a large low grade molybenite deposit in the Setting Net Lake area. During the summer of 1970 several companies were actively investigating this deposit as well as occurrences of copper and uranium (Figure 2:39).

A third area that is at present generating some interest is the Muskrat Dam Lake area (Figure 2:38). During the latter part of 1969 and the summer of 1970 several companies were active in the area. Little information has been released by the companies to date.

The area of greatest known potential for mineralization within the Study Area is the North Caribou belt (Figure 2:38). Occurrences of copper, silver and gold have been located, but none is of major significance.

In summary, recent work has indicated that the northern Patricia region has major potential for several metallic minerals. On the basis of present knowledge, two areas are of particular significance - North Spirit Lake and the Favourable Lake-Setting Net Lake belt. A third area, Muskrat Dam Lake, is being actively investigated at the present time and may be of some future significance.

Mention should also be made of the potential of the coastal areas of James and Hudson Bays to produce gas and oil. Drilling is being carried on by several companies. The Ontario Government is reported to be optimistic about major discoveries being made.

(b) Mining Feasibility: Both the North Spirit Lake and Favourable Lake-Setting Net Lake belts have good possibilities for mining development in the future. At North Spirit, although the ore is fairly low grade the known tonnage is large. This deposit could be mined by open-pit methods. The Department of Mines has reserved surface rights over a substantial area in anticipation of an open pit and plant facilities and for the location of a town site and a waste disposal area. At present, two factors discourage development. First, market conditions are not favourable; adequate supplies of higher grade ore are available further south. Secondly, there is no suitable means of moving the ore from mine to market. The Ontario Department of Mines felt that with the completion of the Red Lake-Pickle Lake road, it is conceivable that development might be undertaken.

The completion of the road may also lead to a second period of production at the Favourable Lake site and to development of the adjacent Setting Net Lake area.

In summary, there are areas of fairly high potential for mineral production. Known occurrences are not of sufficiently high grade, economic size, or are too inaccessible to warrant any immediate development under present market conditions. The Pickle Lake-Red Lake road, upon completion, will probably stimulate production of one ore body - the iron ore at North Spirit Lake, and possibly further production from the lead-zinc-silver-gold zone at Favourable Lake. The whole picture may be rapidly altered as further exploratory work is done.

IMPACT OF MINING DEVELOPMENT

Assessment of the mineral and mining possibilities has established that there is a reasonable expectation that a producing mine will be developed in the northern Patricia region, but not in the immediate future. Of relevance to this study is the impact such a development

would have on the Round Lake community.

The degree of impact would, of course, be determined by the size of development and its proximity to the community. As neither of these are known factors, specific predictions are impossible. However, using what information is available, some generalizations may be made.

Employment in Mining: In the past the Canadian mining industry has not been a big employer of native people. This has produced both criticism of the mining companies, and pessimism that the mineral resource will do little to supplement or replace the fish and fur resource as a means of livelihood for northern people. An attempt will be made to determine how valid this criticism and feeling of pessimism are with regard to the people of Round Lake and similar isolated Indian settlements in the area.

Two large mining developments have occurred within approximately 150 miles of Round Lake, namely: Pickle Crow and Red Lake. An analysis of the impact of these developments on the Round Lake community provides some insight into the effects of any future development.

In the employment of Indians, the mining companies of the Pickle Crow and Red Lake areas were not atypical. Many Indians were attracted to the town sites, but few found permanent employment. Most of those hired were employed in the lower paid, unskilled jobs such as the associated logging operations. This was probably not so much a reflection of company policy, but of the combination of circumstances existing in Northern Ontario: the inability of the northern Indian to compete in the skilled labour market, a negative attitude towards underground work in the mines, a reluctance to leave his community for prolonged periods. All three factors were probably true to some degree of Round Lake men. Although approximately 1600 men were employed by the mining companies of the Red Lake and Pickle Crow areas, less than a dozen men from Round Lake are known to have found jobs there. It is of interest to note that one reason for the closure of the Pickle Crow mine in 1966 was reported to be a shortage of skilled labour.

Thus, if past and present conditions prevail in the future, the opening of new mines in the northern Patricia District may not have much direct, long term effect on underemployment on the northern reserves. But, these conditions are now changing. What may be considered one of the greatest obstacles to skilled employment in the past, i.e. lack of education and poor English facility, need not be a limitation in the future. The average Indian youth reaching school-leaving age will now have completed at least Grade VIII and will have a working knowledge of English. On-the-job training, or high school education will now be possible for those willing to leave the reserve.

The problem of attitude is more difficult to assess. It is possible that the experience of school routine, discipline and regimentation, the less nomadic way of life, and the increased desire of the younger people for a steady cash income may produce a more positive attitude.

The third limitation to men seeking and finding jobs in the mines, the reluctance to leave the community, seems also to be of declining significance. The idea of leaving the community for school or work seems to be more acceptable among the youth. In addition, the traditional occupations of subsistence trapping and fishing may have less appeal for many of the young people.

In summary, the ability of Round Lake men to compete for skilled and semi-skilled jobs, and their willingness to leave the community for work and training appears greater than was true in the past. Judged on this basis, any future mining development similar in size and proximity to the Pickle Crow or Red Lake developments, would have a greater impact on the community than in the past. Counteracting this trend somewhat however is the decreasing demand for manpower as the mining industry becomes increasingly mechanized.

The proximity of the mine to the Round Lake community is also significant. On the basis of present knowledge, the most probable location of a mine would be at North Spirit or along the Favourable Lake-Setting Net Lake belt. North Spirit is approximately 70 miles from Round Lake, Favourable Lake is 100 miles. It is probable that neither distance would

be a serious deterrent to Round Lake men seeking jobs, particularly if the suggested road into Round Lake becomes a reality.

In the southern Patricia District and Red Lake area several important mineral deposits have been located during the past few years. The prospects for new producing mines in this area are very good. It is probable that some Round Lake men will find employment there, as they did at Pickle Crow. Two factors may limit the number: the distance from Round Lake, the greater competition for jobs in a less isolated area.

An evaluation of the impact on the Round Lake community of a major oil or gas discovery along the coast of James or Hudson Bay would be a very complex undertaking. Perhaps it is sufficient to refer to a newspaper item quoting Mines Minister Lawrence as saying that "a find could magically transform the whole economy of the Ontario North."¹

Other Employment: In the short term, there is a possibility of some cash income from prospecting and mineral exploration. In cooperation with the Indian Affairs Branch, the Ontario Department of Mines has held simplified courses on mineral exploration at Round Lake. A five-day course was given during the winters of 1968 and 1969 to familiarize interested Indian people with different types of minerals, map reading, staking methods, the Mining Act and other knowledge required for prospecting. It is hoped that this course would enable a trapper moving through the country to recognize favourable areas for investigation and perhaps to find an ore body.

Considerable interest in the course was reported, but no mineral finds have resulted as yet. This training may be of some benefit as interest increases in mineral exploration and there is a demand for men to stake claims and assist geological and mining parties. In June 1970, four men from Round Lake were hired for approximately three weeks by a geological party working in the Muskrat Dam Lake area.

Aside from employment with the mine directly, other jobs both

1 The Telegram, Toronto, July 23, 1969.

skilled and unskilled, casual and permanent, would be created. There would be a demand for labour in the associated logging activities, in construction, in service jobs on the town site, in guiding as travel in the area increased. Possibilities for individuals with entrepreneurial skills and access to capital would also develop in the town: a cafe, barber shop, hotel, grocery store etc. With adequate assistance and guidance, there is no reason why this type of service industry could not be provided by Indian people.

Although the creation of job opportunities for Round Lake men would be the major effect of a mining development, there would be some additional impact. Some of the income earned in the mining operation would be spent in the Round Lake community to the benefit of the local stores. Families of the absent mine workers would need to buy services ordinarily supplied by the male of the household: provision of meat and fish, wood for fuel. Outside money would thus circulate in the community and provide income to additional persons. There is already evidence of the development of such specialization at Round Lake.

An additional consideration, one which will become increasingly important as the population grows, is that these outside jobs will relieve the pressure on the fish and wildlife resource.

Steps could be taken to maximize the beneficial effects to the Indians of any mining development in this northern area. The Hawthorne Report (1966) suggests that mining companies be required to hire greater numbers of Indian people, to supply on-the-job training, housing, medical care and recreation, in return for a licence to exploit the mineral resource. If similar limitations were placed on private employers, a large number of jobs would be filled by underemployed Indian people instead of transient labour from the south.

In summary, a mining development could be beneficial to the Round Lake people. It could provide wage employment, a factor which will become increasingly important as the population grows and more adult males seek employment outside the traditional economic pursuits. It could accelerate the growth of specialization within the community, thus increasing employment and income in the settlement itself.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS: We wish to thank Dr. L. Ayres and Mr. R.A. Riley of the Ontario Department of Mines for their assistance in providing information and for their advice in the preparation of this report.

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CHAPTER 11TOURIST RESOURCE

The Study Area possesses some of the basic ingredients of a good tourist area — numerous clear lakes and rivers, wilderness, fishing and hunting potential. What are the possibilities of developing this resource? And more significantly, what are the possibilities of the Round Lake people benefiting from such development?

At the present time the area lies beyond the range of not only the normal tourist, but also of the great majority of fly-in hunters and fishermen.

RESOURCE CAPABILITY AND LIMITATIONS

Fish: The potential for sport-fishing was superficially investigated in the research on the fish resource. On the basis of this rather limited information, it was considered that the lakes of the Study Area could support light sport fishing. Yellow pickerel and northern pike are common in all lakes, trout in small numbers are reported in a few lakes. People in the area reported good angling success.

There are some limitations to the development of a sport fishery. At present the access is by air. Evidence suggests that this is not too serious a limitation — one air service company is reported to be operating a small fly-in service to some of the lakes in the Band Area at the present time. When the Pickle Crow-Red Lake road is completed, there will be road access within 40 miles of most of the lakes. A second consideration, although not a problem at present, is that the fish are slow growing and tend to be smaller than in areas to the south. The lakes do not have a high productivity. It is evident that they could not support a heavy use by sports fishermen. However the great number of lakes could be used to off-set the low productivity of the individual lakes.

Hunting: The feasibility of a tourist industry based on moose hunting was discussed previously. The conclusions reached were that the area would have difficulty in competing successfully with the more accessible areas to the south on the basis of the wildlife resource itself. The moose density of the Round Lake area is only one-quarter

that of the Red Lake - Sioux Lookout area. It is unlikely that many hunters would pay more money to travel to an area offering a lower chance of success. There are still many opportunities for wilderness hunting in the southern area.

It is similarly unlikely that the Round Lake Area could attract duck and goose hunters in any numbers. The population of game birds is scattered and low compared to that of the coast.

The numerous lakes and rivers do offer an opportunity for wilderness canoeing. However, the area to the south again offers great competition. The northern landscape is not as attractive, the season is shorter and the insects more of a problem.

It is unlikely that many people will by-pass the opportunity for superior fishing, hunting, canoeing and boating in the more accessible areas lying to the south. Although the tourist industry is growing rapidly in the Sioux Lookout and Red Lake area, there are still large areas considered to be in a wilderness state. However some people will go further north -- those more desirous of adventure than high quality fishing and hunting. As mentioned earlier some fly-in fishing is now carried on in the Band Area. When the road is completed, more people will move northward. If a tourist industry could be profitable to the Round Lake people, it is to this type of person their efforts should be directed.

The greatest monetary gain to the Round Lake people would be realized if any development of a tourist industry were centered on the village. The possibility of a small lodge, Indian-owned and operated, might be welcomed by the people. The Chief has already discussed the possibility of operating a small hostel for visitors to the community.

The operation of the lodge could conceivably be on a year-round basis, not wholly dependent upon sport fishermen or hunters. Formal accommodation for visitors is lacking at Round Lake. In the past government officials, medical persons, pilots and other visitors depended upon the hospitality of the Hudson Bay manager, the mission or the school. Adverse flying weather could make these visits prolonged.

An increasing number of people working and visiting in the community has put a strain upon these make-shift sources of accommodation. A small rustic-style lodge offering accommodation and perhaps meals would solve this problem for visitors and be a source of employment for the village. A lodge of this type, located in a relatively isolated settlement, might be sufficiently unique to off-set the limited attractions of the fish and wildlife resource, and become the focal point of a small tourist industry. Local men could be employed as guides to take the fishermen or wilderness-seekers by canoe to many other lakes in the vicinity of the village.

If those government agencies concerned with the community could be encouraged to guarantee that their personnel visiting the village would use the lodge, a small but dependable business would be ensured. This would not only off-set the problems presented by a seasonal tourist operation, but could be used as a training ground for the tourist operation.

Part Three

THE ROUND LAKE OJIBWA
1968-1970

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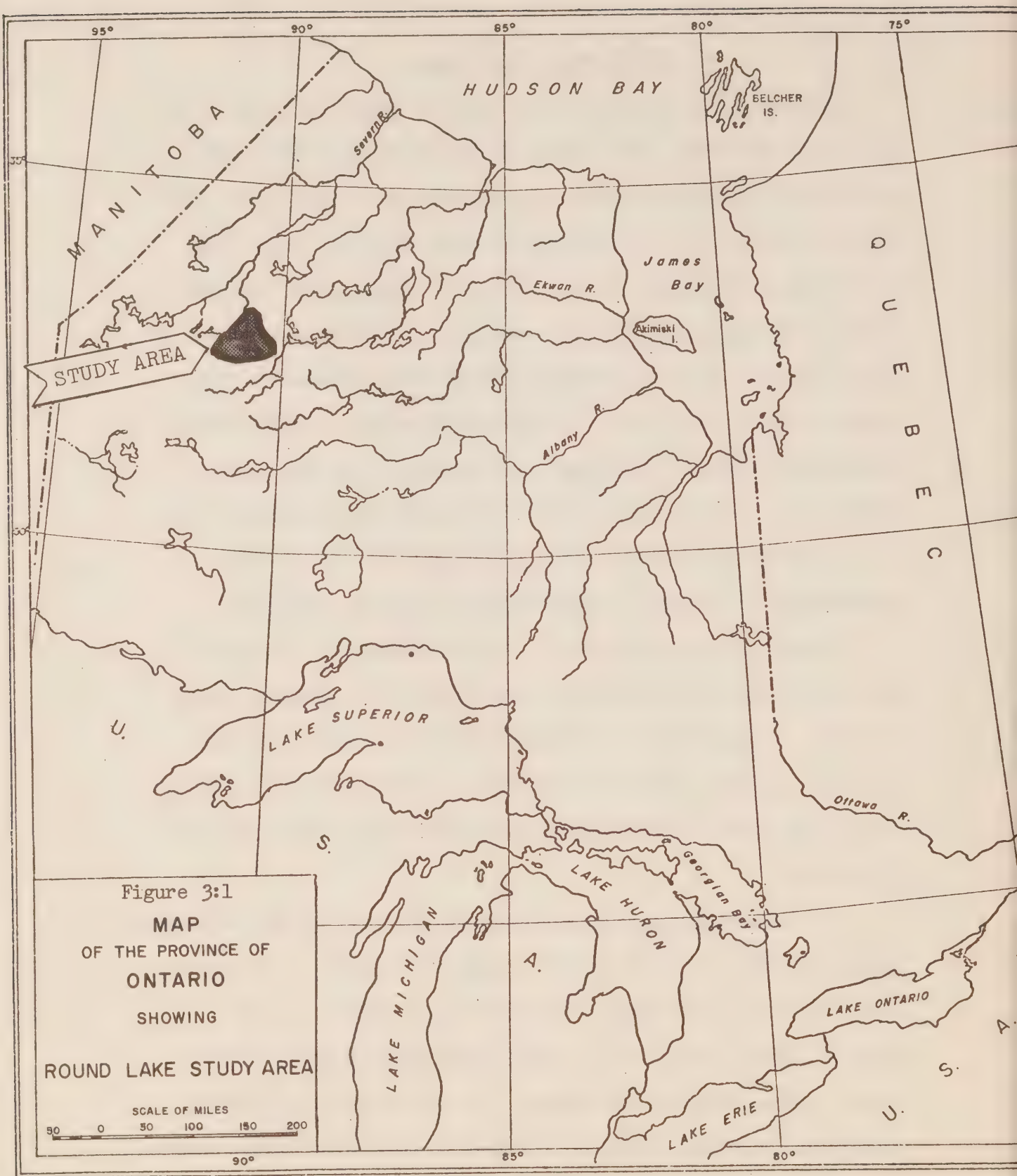
November 25, 1970

INTRODUCTION - Part Three

The following report is based upon two years research, from the 1st of September, 1968 until the end of August, 1970, among the Round Lake Ojibwa located on the shores of Weagamow Lake some 200 miles north of Sioux Lookout, Ontario (see Fig. 3.1). Over 370 Ojibwa are resident in the community. During this two year period nearly a year and a half was spent living at the village of Round Lake or, as it is officially known today, Weagamow. The author lived in a log cabin located approximately on the boundary between the Hudson's Bay Company establishment and the Ojibwa settlement. During the period of field work, it was possible for the author to be resident during every month of the year and accordingly to witness a complete yearly round of activities.

Contact was made with most of the residents of the village and, of course, there was daily association with those who lived near by. A large number of individuals contributed information and a few worked closely as interpreters and assistants, sometimes collecting general information and at other times making specific inquiries.

The following report is prepared on the basis of the information collected while resident in the village of Weagamow. A previous study had been made during 1958-1959 (Rogers 1962). It was used as a base from which to launch inquiries and from which to gauge, where possible, the degree, rate and direction of change among the Round Lake Ojibwa. A further view of long range changes,



although not specifically dealt with or utilized in this report, was gained from a study of the history of the Round Lake Ojibwa extending from 1780 to 1965 (Rogers and Bishop, M.S.).

The following report is divided into several major sections:

1) "Economics, Subsistence and Technology"; 2) "Socio-Political Organization"; 3) "Religion"; 4) "Values and Psychological Aspects"; 5) "Education and Enculturation"; 6) "A Decade of Change"; and 7) "The Future". It should be obvious from the headings that all aspects of Round Lake Ojibwa culture have been touched upon in this report. No on-going society, and Round Lake Ojibwa society is on-going, is composed of fragments but rather of interwoven parts which ideally mesh together without clash for the proper functioning of the society. One cannot understand the way of life of a people by merely examining one segment of their culture no matter how intensively this might be done. Although the major aspects of Round Lake Ojibwa culture have been touched upon in this report, it must not be assumed that their culture has been explored to its maximum limit. This is never possible because of the extreme complexity of human society and the ever state of flux in which it exists. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the following remarks will give some understanding of the way of life of the Round Lake Ojibwa not only in the concrete manner in which it is carried out but also enabling some comprehension as to how the people feel about their life. The data range, therefore, from statistical information

such as that concerning commercial enterprises to that which might be considered "subjective" but based upon many months of residence among the Round Lake Ojibwa and innumerable conversations with them. Accordingly, an attempt has been made within the report to give a feeling to life in a northern community as expressed by the Round Lake Ojibwa. The report itself does not, it is hoped, at any time make any value judgments nor state what policy or policies might or should be followed in the future. There is at the end a short note on the future but that is all. Instead, the author has tried to present the situation as it existed between 1968 and 1970 among the Round Lake Ojibwa of Weagamow Village as seen by an ethnologist. It must be pointed out that the statements made in the report are based on a great deal more data than can possibly be presented here.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The following study would not have been possible to accomplish without the assistance of many individuals. Many people were involved in the Round Lake Project in a variety of ways, all of whom contributed to its success. Some, unfortunately, are not known to the investigator and this is probably true when any major programme is undertaken and carried out. It is not possible to cite each and everyone who played a part in the study since to do so would mean, for example, listing all the Indians resident at Weagamow. Nevertheless, their assistance is greatly appreciated.

I would like to especially thank Mr. Saul Keeash, Chief of the Caribou Lake Band, who welcomed me to the village of Weagamow and with his councillors agreed that a study should be carried out. Mr. Elijah Beardy ably assisted throughout the course of the field work as interpreter and mentor. There were others, Henry Kaakakiash, Janosa Quequish, Lazarus Kaakakiash, Saul Williams and many more to whom I am indebted for their support and assistance.

The project could never have materialized if it had not been for the endeavours of Mr. G. H. U. Bayly, Deputy Minister and Mr. Keith Acheson, Assistant Deputy Minister, both of the Ontario Department of Lands and Forèsts. Mr. C. Currie contributed to the drafting of the original proposal for a combined ethnological and biological study, one of the first, if not the first, of its kind in Canada. Mr. H. Crown of ARDA and Mr. Bill Maslen, Ontario Department of Lands and Forests representative on ARDA, were sympathetic to the project

and assisted in seeing that it materialized. Miss Katharine B. Cooke of the Department of Regional and Economic Expansion also lent her support. To all of these individuals I am deeply grateful for their assistance.

Others also helped. Mr. Lou Ringham, Regional Director, Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, saw to it that all provisions were made to ensure the successful outcome of the field work. There are those individuals at Sioux Lookout with the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests that I wish to thank for their many kindness and assistance. These are Mr. Al Baxter, District Forester, formerly of the Sioux Lookout office, Mr. Ted Hall, District Forester, Mr. Ed Perrie, Mr. Harry Spaight and Mr. Al McLeod.

I would also like to thank Mr. Bert Saunders, Manager, Hudson's Bay Company, Mr. Jack McMillian, school principal and Mr. Burt Brown of the Evangelical Church all of Weagamow for their assistance and Mr. Erik Weigeldt now teaching at North Bay for having supplied me with much additional information based on his previous residence at Weagamow.

Mary Black

CHAPTER 12

ECONOMICS, SUBSISTENCE, TECHNOLOGY

Introduction: This section deals first with the means for making a living: cash occupations and subsistence activities; then with patterns of buying and consumption, including ownership of major items, use and operation of the stores, the telephone system, transportation and housing. Commercial trapping and fishing for the two years is reported first, with some comparison with Rogers' material for 1958-9. Other cash income occupations have been on the increase since 1959 and this trend continued during the two years of the present study. A good proportion of Round Lake employable adults appeared to be taking full advantage of these jobs, some of which were for a temporary period and others full or part time year-around, in addition to various self-employed avenues to secure income. Yet government aid and subsistence from the land are still of major importance.

A marked expansion is also noted in the amount of property now owned by Round Lake people, including major equipment and luxury items, such as snowmobiles, canoes, motors, power saws, washing machines, radios, tape recorders, guitars, phonographs and bicycles. The use of planes for travel and the telephone system for verbal communication also steps up the tempo of activities in this rather energetic small bush community which still has only a handful of resident non-Indians. During the period of the study, there were frequent visits from a variety of outside interests but these stayed usually less than a day or for one night only, with the

exception of workers for the construction of the new nursing station and diesel plant who remained for weeks at a time. There were also visits from and to the Indians of neighboring communities by canoe, plane and snowmobile -- for periods of several days to several weeks. In all, the reputed "Isolation" of this place seemed more myth than fact from a resident's point of view. Especially with regard to commercial interests and abilities, Round Lakers appear to be keeping up with their changing world and enjoying it. Most of them look forward to more changes and try to make ready. Except for the old people, few have time to look back for long to the relatively recent time when the money economy was minimal, as were possessions and "poorness" was measured in how many hours of hard work went into providing a family with shelter, clothing and food from the materials at hand and then they frequently went without. Older people told us of that and 20-year-olds recalled rabbitskin clothing from childhood. But we are most grateful to Chief Saul Keeash, now, 38, who took the trouble in March, 1969 to set down in Cree syllabics his recollections of the technological and economic changes over the past 30 years. The English translation of his Recollections is appended to this Introduction.

Despite rapid changes to modern ways and some relief from the pressures of wresting a living from the Subarctic environment, life at Round Lake village is still regulated largely

by the seasons and the land. In the economic sphere, the yearly round of activities is paramount and controls to a considerable extent the other spheres of village, family and personal interests. Both in making a living and in spending the fruits thereof, the timing and planning is still season-by-season for the majority of village families. Even the minority who stay at home to tend store, school or hearth must gear themselves to the comings and goings and the changes of interest and attention which accompany the traditional Indian life of season-by-season economic pursuits. The listing of Indian "seasons" and their sequence of economic activities was given by Rogers and would be little augmented or changed by current information. What we wish to communicate, rather, is the fact of "seasonal" thinking as it permeates economic matters. A non-Indian who knew the economic habits of the Round Lake people remarked that if they wanted to, some of them could make enough money by trapping or fishing to live the rest of the year doing nothing. But instead, they spend their money less efficiently than they could, from a Euro-Canadian point of view e.g. taking planes to the trapline, and then hustle on to the next season's work. This is certainly so and a normal Euro-Canadian reaction. From the Indian view, the suggestion would make little sense, particularly "doing nothing", not to mention giving up the advantages of the plane transportation. The alternation of activities and living places from season to season is satisfying

in itself. And it requires its own special skills.

The point should be made, that seasonal change of occupation or even seasonal expenditure of funds does not amount to an inability or distaste for planning ahead. The myth that Indians are not "provident" needs to be re-examined. The yearly round itself requires that summertimes be spent partly in providing for the following winter. Anyone who knows how to survive in the climate and life conditions which these people have mastered, knows something about the ultimate in planning ahead and not making any mistakes about it. How Round Lakers' precision and boldness and skill can be transferred to the type of "provident" behavior demanded by the modern world which they enthusiastically approach is another question, as yet unanswered.

The following are the recollections of one middle-aged man, the Chief of the Caribou Lake Band (Round Lake Ojibwa) regarding his life and the changes that have occurred in several short decades. It reveals something of the tremendous impact Euro-Canadian society has had on the people of Weagamow Lake.¹

I was born August 15, 1932. It was on an island in Pakhoan Lake, where my family spent summers. I don't recall anything until I was six years old. Then I often remember some things. I was then at Yoyoy Lake.

1. LIFE RECOLLECTIONS, Saul Keeash, Round Lake, March, 1969, as written down in Cree syllabics and translated into English by Janosa Quequish and Greta Kakekayash.

I remember we never lived much in the house. Only a moss tent. No stove or lantern. When I was seven and eight years old, I remember this: we often used the house but not always. Sometimes only the moss tent.

My father died when I was eight years old. This was at North Caribou Lake. I remember where he died. It was in a tent made of evergreen branches, and covered with snow to be warm. No stove. The nearest church was at Opapimiskam Lake, so we prayed and buried him ourselves.

From then on, we had a house from time to time. One of my uncles looked after us at that time. There wasn't anything there like the things that exist today. Maybe there were motors (boats), but not very many. Nor ready-made canoes, but only birchbark canoes, lots of them. And I never saw many airplanes, maybe two a year I saw. There were some white people at that time. Sometimes I saw prospectors in summer.

I recall how my clothes looked at the time I was nine years old. A coat made from rabbitskins, and also mittens made of rabbitskins. Also I had rabbitskin socks. At the time I was 7 or 8 years old I saw old men and old women during the summertime. They didn't use shoes, but sometimes a person had rubbers, black ones. And I also didn't wear shoes all the time during the hot summer. And sometimes in the fall old men were given four rolls of net thread (but not always). And as I grew up, things kept changing (looking different). During 1943, when I was between 10 and 12 years old, I saw airplanes every so often. I was now at Windigo Lake. And sometimes there were many white people. And there were not rich stores, nor many stores, at the time of 1943. In the old days, before my time, the store just carried the groceries around (from place to place), in different ways. Dogs used to carry groceries, and those who carried the groceries around were Indians.

My first recollection of a store was at the lake named Windigo. That was the first store there. A number of different things were there, and nice canoes, and better and better things. And some people had motors at that time. At that time there was little known of government help. There was, then (after that), a ration to old women and old men and widows. They were given 7 pounds flour, and 6 pounds oats, and 1/2 pound tea, and 1 pound lard and 1/2 pound baking powder. At the time of 1943, that's how much help there was then. But the help was gone higher since that time.

In 1949 the store was moved from Windigo to Round Lake. This was the Hudson's Bay store. It was 1953 when I built my first house at Round Lake, but we spent summers there before that, living in a tent. Another church came to Round Lake in 1952, which was the NCEM Mission. And also we had a new school, in 1953. Some children started to learn the white people's language. We had another new school in 1963.

During 1955 there was help given, things to use for someone building a house. Roofs, doors, windows, nails -- that is what was given during 1955. The help went higher from then on. Old age people were given \$46.00, then it was changed to \$65.00, then \$75.00, then \$105.00 and then \$107.50 -- old people were given this help. Starting in 1950, there were people with diesel electric power, and there are even more today. Some more people had motors, and there were power saws, in 1958 and 1959. And in 1960 they started having powered washing machines. People were first given houses in 1965. That was the very first time that people were given houses. And then again they were given houses in 1967 and in 1968. And then we had another new church, Pentecostal mission.

Those are some of the things that came here, from the first that I remember.

Commercial Trapping: For many years the trapping of fur bearers has been a basic occupation of the Round Lake Ojibwa. Although trapping is still of importance both economically and psychologically, it has decreased monetarily over the years in relation to the total income and the increased needs of the people.

The following presents information regarding the type and degree of fur trapping undertaken by the Round Lake Ojibwa during the course of two winters, 1968-9 and 1969-70, and in comparison with a previous period, the winter of 1958-9. The data are placed in several categories for convenience of presentation. Additional information will be found in those

sections prepared by the biologists dealing with the fur bearers.

The greatest amount and most intensive trapping was undertaken during November and December of each year. In 1968 all families, with the exception of one, had returned to the village by Christmas. Generally, one round trip from the traplines to the village and back was made by each trapping unit during the period, usually about the end of November or early in December. At this time they sold the furs secured to date and obtained more supplies. During the middle of winter, trapping activity decreased greatly. With the advent of spring breakup there was renewed activity and many people left the village for a few weeks. They did not necessarily return to their designated trapping areas but rather remained in closer proximity to the village than during November and December. Trapping was not perhaps even the major consideration at this time for leaving the settlement. Rather, a desire to get away from the confines of village life and live in areas where game was more easily secured. These were sites at which open water first occurred making it easier to set and tend gill nets and locals where the first waterfowl would be returning to.

The majority of the trappers sought beaver, mink and otter. A few stated that they also attempted to secure other species such as lynx. Beaver and lynx were frequently taken in snares while the conibear trap was used by one trapper during the 1969-70

season and perhaps by several others. As yet, however, it has not become a common means for securing fur bearers.

Perhaps the most noticeable alteration in the trapping pattern at present is in the means whereby individuals reached their trapping territory. Whereas in 1958 they left sometime during September or early October by canoe before freeze-up (vide Rogers 1962: Fig. 12; c8), now few do. Planes are used instead or else the trappers wait until after freeze-up and then either walk or take snowmobiles to their traplines. The following table (3.1) indicates the present mode of travel.

Table 3.1
Means of Travel to Traplines: 1968 and 1969¹

<u>Means of Transportation</u>	<u>To the Trapline</u>	
	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>
Canoe	4	8
Walking	8	7
Snowmobile	3	14
Plane	27	30
<hr/>		
	42	59

-
1. The figures given in the table represent individual, not group trips. Accordingly, when it is reported that 27 plane trips were made, it means 27 distinct individuals took air transport. There may have been four or more individuals on each plane.

It is clear from the previous table that canoe transport to reach the trapping grounds is a means of the past. Planes have become of extreme importance, but still walking to and from the trapline is equally important. This is especially true when returning from the traplines since unless prior arrangements have been made there is no means to contact air transport. Snowmobiles as of 1968-9 played only a negligible part in transportation to and from the traplines but increased in use the following year, suggesting that they will become increasingly more important.

Of the adult males totalling 69 in both seasons (1968-9 and 1969-70), there were 54 who trapped in 1968 and 51 in 1969. These figures include those below the age of twenty, in contrast to the table. Those men who did not trap were for the most part engaged in duties which kept them in the village.

Table 3.2
Ages of Trappers and Non-Trappers: 1968-9

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Non-Trapper</u>	<u>Trapper</u>
80 - 89	1	-
70 - 79	-	-
60 - 69	1	3
50 - 59	2	4
40 - 49	4	9
30 - 39	2	17
20 - 29	3	15
<hr/>		
Total	13	48

In 1958 there were seven non-trappers and 55 trappers of all

ages. As can be seen, not a great deal of change in the number of trappers has occurred in the last ten years. There was a slight increase in the number of non-trappers but this can be explained not because there was necessarily any diminution in interest in trapping, but rather that these men were employed on a permanent basis in the village or felt because they were chief or councillor or running a store that they should remain in the village. Only one individual in this category might be considered as having no desire to trap. The important fact that emerges from these figures is that the younger men are active trappers indicating clearly that as yet no drastic changes in the fur-trade economic system have begun to take place.

Today a school exists in the village of Round Lake, having a school calendar the same as those in the south and instruction from beginners through Grade VIII. One might expect that this would inhibit or alter the previous trapping pattern since the times of these two activities (schooling and trapping) conflict with one another. As of 1968-69, it had not altered the situation to the degree that might have been expected. But a shift did occur, however, the following year, with fewer married men being accompanied by their families and therefore fewer school age children being away from the village. The trend appears to be for the men only to move out for trapping (vide Table 3.3).

Table 3.3
School-Age Children on Trapline: 1968 and 1969

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Married Trapper Family Remained in Village</u>	<u>Married Trapper Family Accompanied</u>	<u>Number of School-age Children</u>
80 - 89	-	-	-
70 - 79	-	-	-
60 - 69	1	1	1
50 - 59	3	1	2
40 - 49	6	3	12
30 - 39	10	6	11
20 - 29	2	5	0
<hr/>			
Total	(1968) 22	(1968) 16	(1968) 26
	(1969) 30	(1969) 6	(1969) 12

Of 111 school age children in 1968-9, 28 (first grade and up) were taken on the trapline. Not included are the 5 year olds, eight in number, who were beginners. Only 12 school aged children, again excluding beginners, were taken on the trapline in 1969. Accordingly, there was a drop from about 25% to 15% of school age children who accompanied their parents on the trapline between 1968 and 1969. The figures would be somewhat higher if one were to eliminate those families whose traplines were adjacent to the village and who would therefore not leave the village anyway. Accordingly, the influence would be somewhat less than indicated in Table 3.3. Nevertheless, it is suspected that the establishment of a winter school in the village of Round Lake is inhibiting the trappers of school age children from taking their families with them on the trapline and that this influence will intensify in the future.

The trapping unit considered here concerns only the number of trappers who operate in the same camp, often together. It must be remembered that families are not considered in the present discussion. That has been dealt with above and the changes that have occurred noted.

There does not appear to have been much change in the type of unit engaged in trapping in the past ten to twenty years. The following table gives the sizes of the partnerships which operated in 1958, 1968 and 1969.

Table 3.4
Size of Trapping Partnerships: 1958, 1968 and 1969

<u>Year</u>	<u>One</u>	<u>Two</u>	<u>Three</u>	<u>Four</u>	<u>Five</u>
1969	7	17	5	0	0
1968	6	13	8	1	1
1958	7	17	3	0	0

As can be seen from the Table, little change has occurred in the 10-year span, 1958-1968, and that the mode is a partnership of two men. The mean is 2.3 trappers per group in 1968. This is somewhat less than the mean for the period 1950-1964 which was 2.8 trappers per group for the Round Lake Ojibwa (Rogers 1966: graph No. 16).

As can be seen from the accompanying two maps (Figs. 3.2 and 3.3), one for 1958 and the other for 1968, there has been no major shift in the location where men trap. It is interesting to note that the south-central section was un-trapped both in 1958 and 1968, as

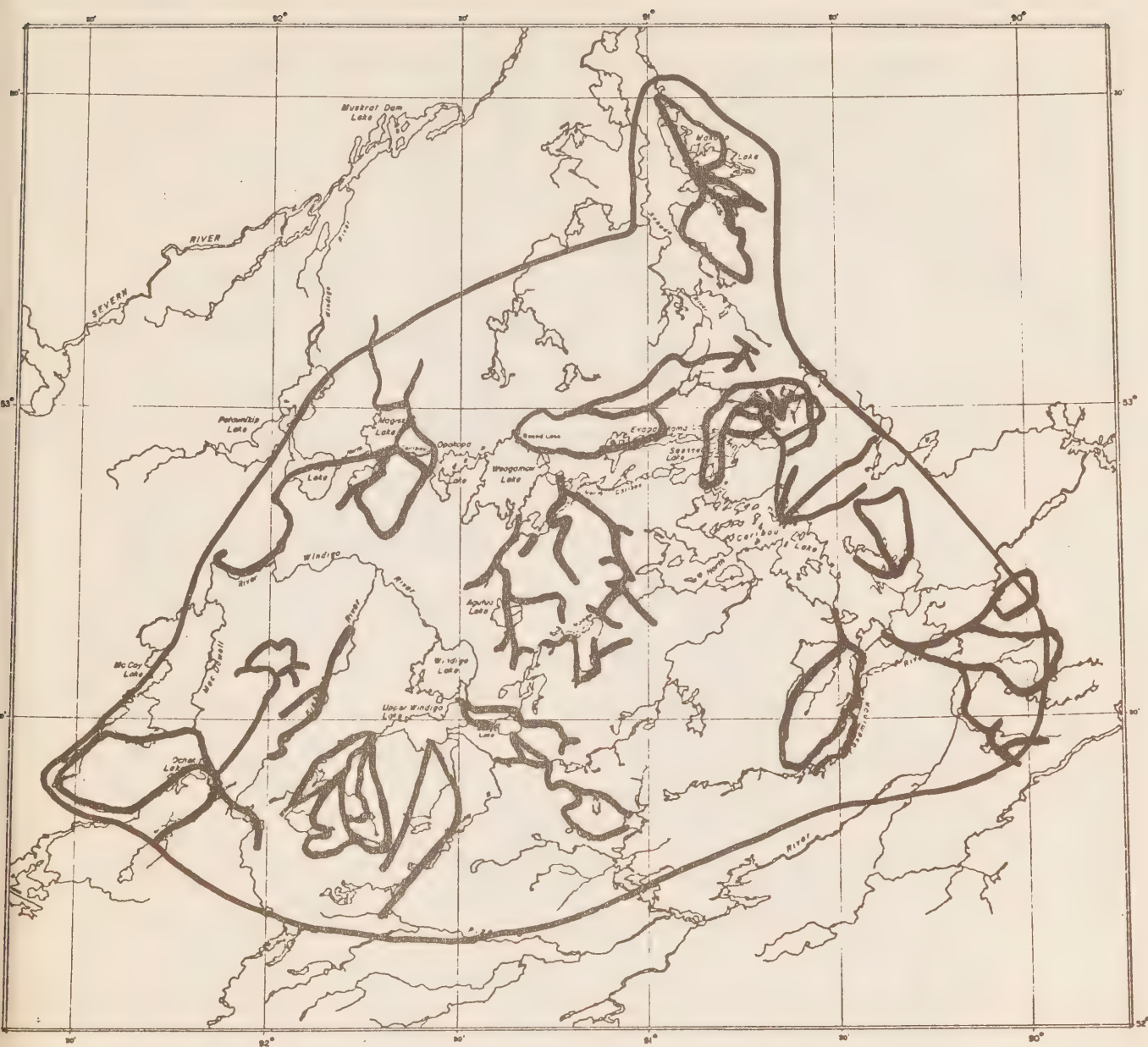


Figure 3:2

ROUND LAKE TRAPLINES
1958

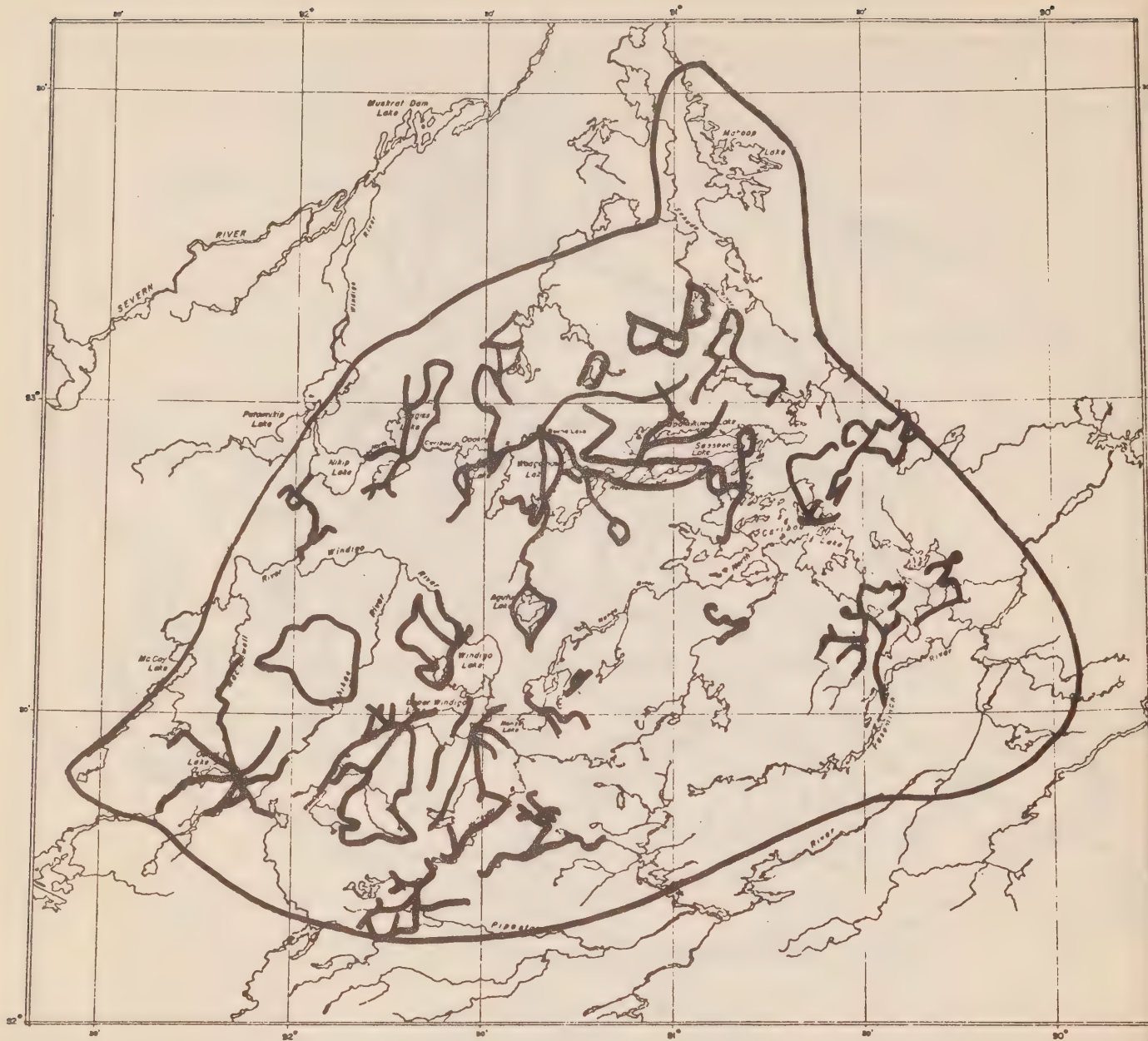


Figure 3:3

ROUND LAKE TRAPLINES

1968

was the north-western margin of the boundaries of the community territory. This may have several explanations - cultural and/or environmental.

Data regarding the numbers of pelts secured annually have been dealt with exhaustively in another section of this report. It can be stated, however, that in addition to the fur figures, supplementary field data indicate that trapping activity and interest has not diminished greatly in the past ten years. Any reduction noted in returns would suggest the species itself had decreased in numbers rather than trapper activity. The number of trappers involved has remained quite constant although the percentage of males involved has decreased as the population increases.

Trapping has remained a relatively productive industry for the Round Lake Ojibwa for the past ten years. It does not appear that the establishment of a full time school in the village, nor wage labour, or any other activities of the Euro-Canadians within the community of Round Lake have as yet affected trapping to any great extent. Fur prices may be a factor although this is to be doubted on the basis of a lack of correlation over time between fur prices and numbers taken. If fur prices have any affect on the intensity of trapping by the men of Round Lake it is only one of many factors involved. It is true that today some men do little or no trapping, being engaged in other activities. The

increase in population can account for this plus the new forces at work to inhibit, to a certain extent, the desire to trap.

Commercial Fishing: Commercial fishing¹, in contrast to trapping, was a late development among the Round Lake Ojibwa. It was not until the 1930's that any efforts were made to exploit commercially the fisheries resources. This economic activity naturally started in a small way, but over the years has increased in importance in the lives of the Indians.

Commercial fishing has had an interesting history. Initially, private concerns dealt with the Indians in establishing the fishing industry. Then, in 1950, the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests introduced a licensing system. This regulated the total length of gill nets and number of sturgeon hooks that could be in operation at any one time. Later, quotas were set for those lakes being exploited and fish buyers had to bid for the right to purchase the fish, the contract going to the individual who gave the highest price per pound. In 1958, the Indian Affairs Branch began to take an active part in promoting commercial fishing.

Over the years, five species of fish have been exploited commercially. These are: lake trout, northern pike, sturgeon, whitefish and yellow pickerel. Only whitefish and yellow pickerel.

1. Detailed data for the past two years is presented in a separate part of the report prepared by the fisheries biologists.

have been taken consistently and usually in large quantities. Whitefish on the basis of overall production, were the principal commercial fish taken (Table 3.5) although the price is much lower than for yellow pickerel.

Two methods, either hooks or gill nets, according to the species, were used in the capture of fish. All species were taken in gill nets and, in addition, sturgeon were caught with hooks. Gill nets were either made by hand of twine by the women using a shuttle and gauge or purchased ready-made. Hooks were purchased. Gill nets had to be periodically removed from the water and dried. For this a "reel" was sometimes used, but not always. This was derived from Euro-Canadians. Generally the nets were merely draped over a line stretched between two trees.

Commercial fishing might be undertaken practically at any time during the year. Field data for 1958-59 show that only during December was no commercial fishing engaged in. Data from the files of the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, for the year 1964, indicate that some commercial fishing was carried on from February through October. The discrepancy can most likely be accounted for by normal variations that were bound to occur from year to year in the initial period of development of commercial fishing. Whatever the case may be, commercial fishing could be engaged in during every month of the year limited only by game management regulations and break-up and freeze-up.

Table 3.5
Annual Poundage by Species of Commercial Fish Secured:
1950 - 1965.

	Whitefish	Yellow Pickerel	Pike	Sturgeon	Trout
<u>Year</u>					
1965	244,000	63,000	3,000	300	
1964	249,000	76,000	17,000	60	
1963	262,000	57,000	7,000	200	
1962	251,000	36,000	3,000	200	
1961	182,000	35,000	15,000	2,000	
1960	262,000	42,000	12,000	3,000	1,000
1959	117,000	47,000	500	100	4,000
1958	50,000	28,000	--	--	--
1957	12,000	6,000	--	--	--
1956	8,000	9,000	--	--	--
1955	9,000	15,000	--	--	--
1954	25,000	10,000	--	--	--
1953	32,000	36,000	200	3,000	--
1952	6,000	4,000	--	8,000	--
1951	2,000	4,000	300	3,000	--
1950	--	--	--	8,000	--

The exploitation of the fishery resources was not restricted to any one lake. Rather, a number of lakes were fished usually at different times of the year. Commercial fishing was undertaken primarily at those times when the trapping of fur bearers was unimportant or not undertaken.

Not all the Round Lake Ojibwa men participated in commercial fishing. Yet to accurately tabulate those who did during the course of any one year is difficult. This was not steady employment and fishermen came and went on quick notice. Therefore, any figures represent the total number involved if for no more than a day. Furthermore, when more than one lake was exploited, it is not known if the same individuals or different ones were involved at each lake. Nevertheless, it is obvious that only a part of the male population (women do not exploit this resource) was engaged in commercial fishing. Furthermore, there has been no discernable change in the average annual number of fishermen since 1950.

Even though the territory occupied by the Round Lake Ojibwa is composed of a large number of lakes, not all were exploited for commercial fishing. In most instances, the lakes are too small to be economical. Ten lakes though are considered of sufficient size economically to have been exploited at one time or another. Weagamow has been utilized the most, although recently, according to official reports, fishing has been discontinued. North Caribou

and Windigo Lakes were the other two big producers. Over the years, there has been an increasing utilization of the available lakes within the area except between 1954 and 1958 when commercial fishing was restricted to Weagamow.

Not all species of fish taken for sale were found evenly distributed throughout the territory of the Round Lake Ojibwa. Whitefish, yellow pickerel and northern pike were found everywhere within the territory but sturgeon existed only in the west and trout in the east. Sturgeon reported for Eyapamikama Lake seems in error since this lake is located far from any reliably attested habitat of sturgeon.

Daily production of fish varied greatly both for the individual fisherman and the total yield. Figures exist for the production of all fishermen for February through April of 1954 and refer presumably to Weagamow Lake since no other lake was licensed that year. The average daily production of whitefish was 145 pounds and for yellow pickerel 48 pounds. Two thousand yards of net were licensed and approximately twenty men were reported to have been involved. This, it must be remembered, was four years before commercial fishing really began to get underway. For the past two years, 1968 and 1969, between 150,000 and nearly 300,000 pounds of fish have been taken annually (Table 3.6). For the preceding five years the average was more than 300,000 pounds annually and for the four years before that the average annual

Table 3.6
Annual Fish Production by Pounds and Incomes: 1950 - 1969

Year	Total Poundage	Total Income
1969	151,000	\$20,000.00
1968	290,000	\$35,000.00
1967	323,000	\$42,000.00
1966	333,000	\$45,000.00
1965	310,000	\$32,000.00
1964	342,000	\$24,000.00
1963	326,000	\$22,000.00
1962	290,000	\$18,000.00
1961	234,000	\$18,000.00
1960	320,000	\$19,000.00
1959	169,000	\$14,000.00
1958	78,000	\$ 6,000.00
1957	18,000	\$ 1,000.00
1956	17,000	\$ 3,000.00
1955	24,000	\$ 5,000.00
1954	35,000	\$ 2,000.00
1953	71,000	\$ 5,000.00
1952	18,000	\$ 9,000.00
1951	9,000	\$ 3,000.00
1950	8,000	\$ 8,000.00

yield was over 200,000 pounds. In the early 1950's, the yields were much lower but incomes proportionately higher. This was due to the large quantities of sturgeon caught in contrast to later years. Sturgeon have always commanded a higher price per pound than any other species (Table 3:7).

Although whitefish have been the major species caught, there have been certain changes in the quantities of other species taken (Table 3.5). Trout have never been of importance and were only taken during two years. Only recently have pike been sold in any quantity, but the price per pound has been negligible. Sturgeon, on the other hand, have always commanded a higher price. Nevertheless, the catch has decreased drastically.

It can be seen that commercial fishing developed into a very productive occupation of the Round Lake Ojibwa although in the last few years it has declined somewhat. For nearly the past decade, it has yielded slightly more cash income than trapping. Commercial fishing appears to have become a rather stable economic activity, for the time being at least.

Other Cash Income Occupations: The number and variety of job opportunities have increased markedly in the past few years. Many of the jobs are provided by government agencies and are short term. However, they complement the seasonal activities of fishing and trapping and provide an addition to cash income. In addition to the jobs provided by outside concerns, the physical growth of the

Table 3.7
Annual Income by Species of Commercial Fish Secured:
1950 - 1965

	Whitefish	Yellow Pickerel	Pike	Sturgeon	Trout
<u>Year</u>					
1965	\$15,000.00	\$17,000.00	\$ 60.00	\$ 200.00	
1964	\$12,000.00	\$11,000.00	\$500.00	\$ 40.00	
1963	\$13,000.00	\$ 9,000.00	\$100.00	\$ 200.00	
1962	\$13,000.00	\$ 5,000.00	\$ 70.00	\$ 200.00	
1961	\$11,000.00	\$ 6,000.00	\$500.00	\$1,000.00	
1960	\$10,000.00	\$ 6,000.00	\$400.00	\$3,000.00	--
1959	\$ 7,000.00	\$ 7,000.00	\$ 10.00	\$ 100.00	--
1958	\$ 3,000.00	\$ 3,000.00	--	--	--
1957	\$ 600.00	\$ 300.00	--	--	--
1956	\$ 1,000.00	\$ 2,000.00	--	--	--
1955	\$ 2,000.00	\$ 3,000.00	--	--	--
1954	\$ 1,000.00	\$ 600.00	--	--	--
1953	\$ 2,000.00	\$ 2,000.00	--	\$1,000.00	--
1952	\$ 4,000.00	\$ 300.00	--	\$5,000.00	--
1951	\$ 200.00	\$ 400.00	--	\$2,000.00	--
1950	--	--	--	\$8,000.00	--

village and the development of a money economy have produced jobs generated by the community itself. Table 3.8 lists the jobs which were available during the term of the study.

In addition to the jobs listed, there are others which, although time-consuming, account for little or no cash income. The positions of chief, councillor, church catechist are all in this category.

Table 3.8 may be somewhat misleading regarding the actual number of men involved in wage employment. One individual may account for several of the jobs listed as temporary, part-time or jobbing. This is true for about a dozen very enterprising men who actively seek whatever jobs are available in the periods when they are not busy with the traditional pursuits of trapping and fishing. Although people commented enthusiastically on the number of jobs available, it is felt that this should be viewed relative to scarcity in the past. It is probable that there is at present a pool of labour not being utilized throughout much of the year.

It is difficult to give an accurate figure for the number of individuals working in some jobs listed in the temporary and jobbing categories. In some cases many were involved, but this involvement varied greatly in degree of participation, and therefore in income earned. In the case of handicrafts, no one person earned much money, but several women produced beadwork, mocassins, mitts and other leather items of good quality. The production and marketing of these items appears to be loosely organized, some

Table 3.8
Cash Income Occupations¹

	Oct.-Dec. 1968	1969	Jan.-June 1970
	Number Employed		
1. <u>Wage Employment</u>			
a. Full-Time			
-Store Clerk	2	2	2
-Caretaker	1*	2*	2*
-Teachers' Aide	-	1*F	1*F
-Secretary to Chief	-	1#	1#
b. Part-Time			
-Store Clerk	1	1	1
-Domestic Work	3F	3F	3F
-Interpreter/Domestic	-	1*F	1*F
-Interpreter/Assistant (ARDA Study)	1*F	1*F	1*F
-Telephone Company	1	1	1
c. Casual - Limited Duration			
-Store Clerk		1-2	1-2
-Sawmill, wood cutting	5-6	5-6	15
-Construction			
Indian Affairs Houses	5-6*	5-6*	9*
Nursing Station	-	6-10*	-
-Tagging Furs	1*F	1*F	1*F
-Tree Planting	-	11*	-
-Fire Fighting	-	-	35*
-Substitute Teacher	-	-	1*F
-Ice-cutting/Construction	?	?	12
-Mining Companies	-	-	4
-Informants - ARDA Study)		See text	
-Interpreters " ")			
-Cafe-Barbershop	-	1	1
2. <u>Self-Employed</u>			
a. Managerial			
-Saw Mill	1	1	1
-Cafe-Barbershop	-	1	1
-Store	1	2	3
b. Jobbing			
-Firewood)			
-Snowmobile taxi, Hauling)		see text	
-Repairs)			
c. Others			
-Handicrafts		" "	

1. * - Employed by a Government agency
- Salary paid by Government agency, but not employed directly
F - Job filled by a female

leadership being provided by four women. The items are sent out or sold on an individual basis.

The government agencies which provide jobs are: Indian Affairs Branch and the Department of Health and Welfare of the Federal Government and the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests. These jobs account for a very significant amount of the cash income from wage employment.

Most of these jobs are made available at a time when men would otherwise be without an income. They do not interfere or compete with the traditional occupations, with the exception of fire-fighting which, when available, is a more profitable option than commercial fishing.

With a few exceptions, the type of work available in the village does not require special training or education. There is certainly a need for this type of employment as the majority of the labour force at present have few marketable skills. However, the limited number of permanent, interesting jobs is beginning to present a problem. An increasing number of teen-agers with some high school education and a good knowledge of English are capable and desirous of full-time wage employment. A small beginning has been made in providing such jobs by the creation of positions of Teachers' Aide and Secretary to the Chief.

Although there has been an increase in the amount of wage employment available, still more is both needed and desired. The

eagerness of these people to work has already been commented upon. In addition to this quality, the Euro-Canadians that have been associated with them have reported the Round Lake workers to be reliable and hard-working. Although the foregoing is true of the majority, there have been cases of people quitting and returning home after a short period on the job.

In summary, wage employment has become increasingly important in the community. The people appear to have adjusted well to any changes of habit entailed in the types of jobs they have undertaken.

Government Aid: During the past two decades there has been a great extension and improvement of the welfare services available to Indian people. Prior to this, with the exception of Family Allowance which began in 1945, Indian people were not covered by the social assistance programs available to non-Indians. The Indian Affairs Branch attempted to provide these services, but as Saul Keeash notes in his Recollections, little government aid was known in the Round Lake area. In 1943 he recalls that old people and widows received a monthly ration of:

7 pounds of flour
 $\frac{1}{2}$ pound of tea
6 pounds of oats
1 pound of lard
 $\frac{1}{2}$ pound of baking powder.

In the 1950's Indians became eligible for the categorical payments -- the Old Age Security, Old Age Assistance, Blind, Disabled and Widow's Allowances. The relief policy of the Indian

Affairs Branch also was revised, becoming more liberal both in recognition of need and amount of payment; the form of payment was changed from rations to cheques. By the mid 1960's, the Ontario Indian was receiving welfare services comparable to the non-Indian. These government subsidies or income maintenance payments have become a very important part of the economic structure at Round Lake. Welfare payments, including all categorical payments and general welfare assistance, accounts for approximately 47 per cent of total income.

Table 3.9 indicates the extent and type of government subsidy entering the community. The amounts paid in each category and the total amount are estimates based on provincial and federal rates and data supplied by the Indian Affairs Branch. No attempt was made to elicit this type of information from individuals in the community.

Table 3.9
Estimated Amount of Government Payments: 1969.

Category	Estimated Amount
Old Age Security	\$10,500.
Guaranteed Income Supplement	4,000.
Family Allowance	16,500.
Family Benefits	20,000.
Welfare Assistance	35,000.
Treaty	<u>1,500.</u>
Total	<u>\$87,500.</u>

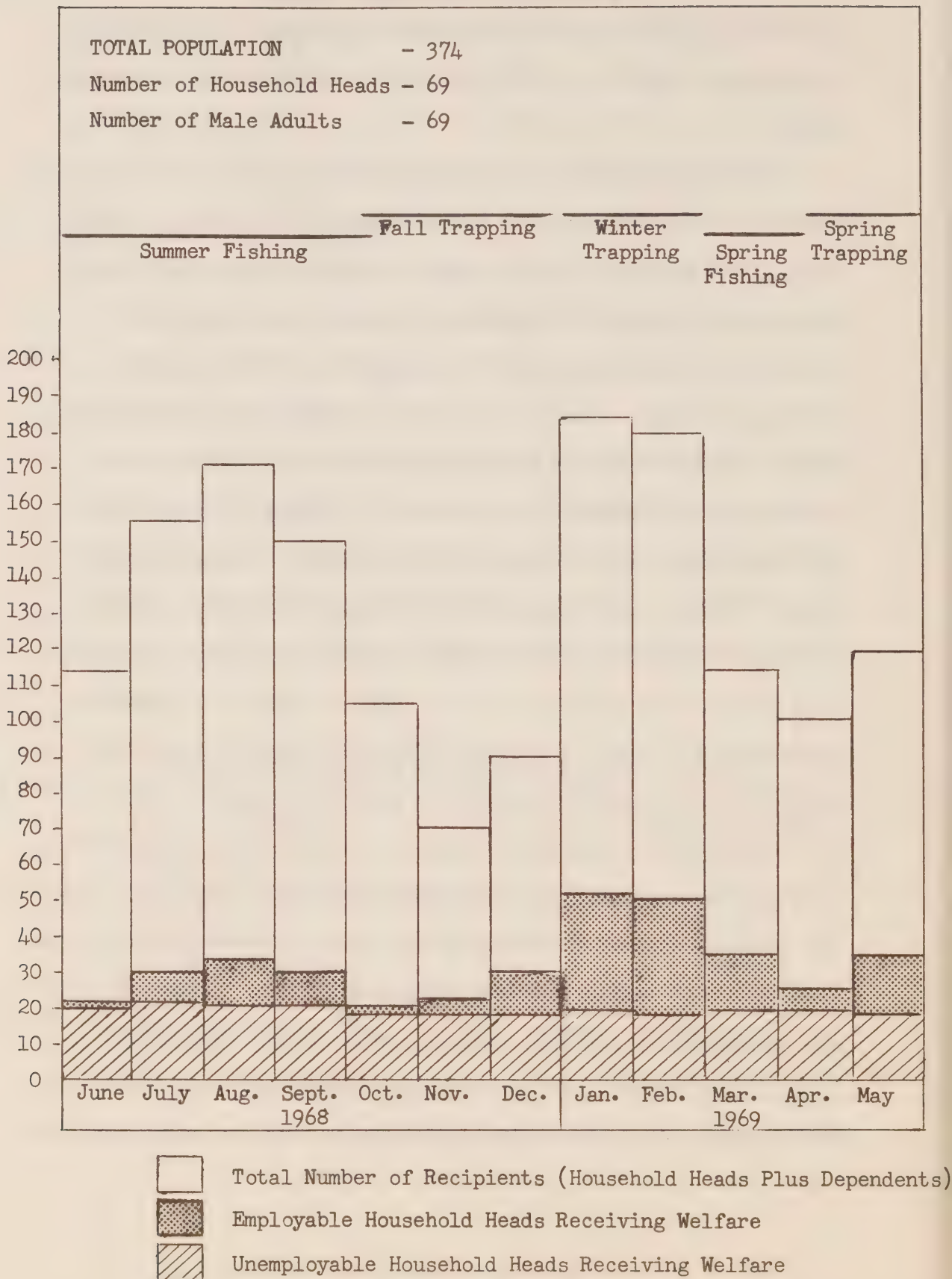
It is apparent that a significant amount of money is entering

the community in the form of government payments. Of particular pertinence to this study is the amount of welfare assistance being paid.

The administration of the Welfare Assistance or relief payments is in the hands of the Sioux Lookout Agency of the Indian Affairs Branch. It is issued on the basis of need, at provincial rates. This payment is made to individuals that are temporarily or permanently unemployed and do not qualify for Family Benefits or Old Age Security. Although the number of recipients and amounts paid are determined by a variety of circumstances, some overall pattern may be observed. As indicated in Figure 3.4, the number of unemployable persons remains fairly constant throughout the year. Although the composition of this group may alter somewhat, there is a core of individuals that remains on welfare assistance on a more or less permanent basis. The fluctuation in number of recipients (the term as used here includes household head plus dependents) is caused by those that become seasonably unemployed or underemployed. Figure 3.4 illustrates the relationship between seasonal economic activity and number of welfare recipients. The two peaks in numbers receiving welfare assistance coincide with the periods of mid-winter trapping and summer fishing. Many trappers who go out during the fall trapping season do not trap during January and February, the coldest part of the winter. In 1969 for example only 1/8th of the fall trappers went out after Christmas.

Figure 3:4

WELFARE ASSISTANCE: 1968-1969



Unless there is alternate work available in the settlement, many are unemployed. Figure 3.4 indicates that a total of 52 out of 69 household heads received some welfare assistance in January. The summer peak in welfare assistance may be partially explained by the considerably smaller number of men engaged in commercial fishing than in fall trapping; between 25-30 men fish, in comparison with 51 who trap. Although some jobs are available in the settlement in the summer, there is still a rise in unemployment, and correspondingly in welfare assistance. This pattern of increased welfare assistance in the winter trapping and summer fishing seasons is fairly consistent from year to year, as is the low figure for the fall trapping season. The actual number of people receiving assistance, and specific fluctuations within the year vary with changing environmental and economic conditions.

There are thus two groups of persons receiving welfare assistance. The group of permanent recipients (including dependents) accounts for about 65 per cent of the total payment. Included in this group are the unemployables -- those too sick or infirm to trap and fish -- and the single or widowed women who are unable to support themselves but do not qualify for Family Benefits. Obviously little can be done to reduce costs among these individuals. In the second group are the people considered employable. The number of employable household heads receiving assistance varied during 1968 from three in June and July to thirty-three in January

and February. Therefore during each month of the year there are family heads, considered employable, who are receiving welfare assistance.

Some discussion of the effect of these government payments is warranted. In broad terms, it may be said that the entire community is affected. The elderly, the widowed and the disabled are allowed some independence; they are no longer totally dependent upon the goodwill of their relatives. As noted in the section on Residential Patterns, several widows are able to maintain their own households. Although none was questioned as to why she did, it is apparent that the Old Age Pension or Widow's Allowance has made it possible. Gone too is the hazardous, total dependence upon the land for food and income. Bad years for fishing and trapping no longer mean starvation or severe privation. During the period of field work, several people referred to the hard life of the past and commented that things are much better now. The increase in government aid is responsible for much of this relative prosperity.

The availability of welfare assistance does not appear to have diminished the efforts of the able-bodied to hunt, trap, fish or actively seek wage employment whenever available. Nor were other negative effects, i.e. the demoralization and apathy ascribed to dependence on welfare, noticeable in the Round Lake community.

In summary, the amount of government aid has increased greatly in the past two decades. It has allowed the people to

live a more comfortable life; to become less dependent on the rather capricious environment.

Yearly Round and Subsistence Activities: Two factors continue to characterize the economic life of the people living at Round Lake village, although perhaps to a lesser extent than in 1958-9. One is the fact that game animals and fish are an important source of food. The other is the sequence of changing seasonal activities through the calendar year. Both are important from the point of view of the Indians' use of time and scheduling concepts, as well as the obtaining of subsistence goods or the income with which to purchase them. Both are rooted in the physical environment and habitat of the Subarctic, including the geographical isolation from modern centres. They have very deep ramifications throughout most of the other levels of the culture, from domestic arrangements to values and legends.

Rogers describes the yearly cycle as observed in 1958-9 (pages C4-14). This remains basically the same, with changes as noted below. Trapping and commercial fishing have been reported, for both 1968-9 and 1969-70. Trappers appear to be leaving for their winter camps later, on the average, than in 1958. Spring fishing is now carried out in an organized manner within the prescribed period of March 1-April 15. Two fish camps are operated simultaneously, fishermen going to one or the other for the period,

some taking their families. Summer commercial fishing begins June 1; the fishermen, as a group, again some with families, set up camp first at one lake, then another, through the summer, returning to the village between the shifting of their camps. Spring trapping seems to have diminished in importance. Families leave the village to camp during this period of break-up (between Spring and Summer fishing) but do not stress the trapping aspect. The feeling of spring release is still as described by Rogers. There seems to be increased activity and movement during the summertime. Though moods are relaxed and light-hearted, one did not observe time hanging heavily on very many hands, though the prolonged hours of daylight allowed work and play to be stretched out at a more leisurely pace. There was a great deal of movement in and out of the village, for visiting, work or subsistence activities. Planes were frequent, and frequently carried Round Lakers to and from various locations, e.g. fish planes bringing fishermen home for week-ends.

Changes in the yearly cycle thus appear to be changes in the filling of sequence slots or in their tempo, not changes in the basic structure. The fact of sequential activities and the tying of these to the rigorous climatic transformations provided by the natural environment in this area remain constant. This fact is underlined by two final changes since Rogers' time: the increase

in employment for cash income, and the increase of village-bound jobs as well as families who remain in the village while their head of household is away. Most cash income activities have simply been inserted in the yearly cycle slots. During the period of the study there was such an increase in employment opportunities as to cause a certain amount of hustling and juggling of schedules. There were in fact concurrent activities so that choices had to be made. However, this is the type of scheduling and planning ahead that the Round Lake Ojibwa are used to; their life experience has trained them to a point of precision and skill in carrying out one activity while keeping an eye on the requirements for the next. The precision consists, paradoxically, in allowing leeway and being opportunistic, which amounts to an ability to swing with last minute changes of plan or timing and to take advantage of sudden new opportunities. The weather and the unpredictable yet patterned changes of nature irrevocably controlled the day-by-day decisions and reversals in the actual execution of activities. Yet the overall plan had to be successfully executed -- often a matter of life and death, in fact -- and this could be accomplished only by precision in the calculation of leeway. Readiness to exploit sudden unexpected advantages, is another of the survival traits learned in this demanding and complexly structured life.

Thus we saw Round Lakers fitting the new employment opportunities into their lives with ease and satisfaction, and filling

in the odd week or day or hour with new types of jobs or recreation at the drop of a hat. The quickness with which they can transfer from one activity to another or rise to the occasion when sudden action is demanded is only matched by their finely tuned ability to concentrate on the task at hand.

The question of an increase in jobs or arrangements which keep Round Lakers year-around in the village is a change of a different order. Yet so far there are very few village jobs whose work is not affected strongly by the yearly cycle sequences. For the store keepers this is obvious, but even a school teacher, nursing station employee, or chief's secretary do work that is affected by the number of villagers who are present or absent at given times. And, of course, families left at home while their men are doing jobs away from the village are greatly affected in their domestic life by this fact and also in their economic arrangements. It looks as though increased cash income allows more families to remain in the village subsisting on store products, while their providers are absent. For it was an economic necessity as well as cultural habit which caused families to move together from place to place in the past. Probably the less that subsistence has to be taken from the land, the more freedom there is from the requirement that the family work together as an economic unit.

The taking of consumables from the land refers mainly to the

jobs of obtaining food, firewood and water for daily consumption in the family. It might also include the use of such things as moss for domestic and child care purposes and materials for making the items that are still of home manufacture, including some housing, but these are mostly longer range consumables. We did not chart the amount or proportion of time spent in these non-cash jobs, but casual observation indicates that they are still of major importance in terms of time and effort, as well as economic contributions. While there may be increased independence from the need to obtain food from the land, supplies of fuel and water are still a daily necessity which cannot be purchased at the store. This is not to say that game and fish have disappeared as the staple food, but only that periods without them can now be sustained by most families in other ways than going hungry.

A sample of Round Lake men was questioned about the availability and procuring of the firewood supply. While it is estimated that still about one-third of their time is spent in procuring wood, there was unanimity of opinion that this major time-consuming activity had become less demanding, for two stated reasons: one, the dwellings in which they now live require less wood for heating and two, snow-mobiles speed up the transportation of the wood. The current estimates were that in the informants' previous houses they burned ten to twelve cords a year, and in their current houses it had been

reduced to from six to eight cords. Information about yet older types of housing indicated that the consumption of firewood increased in amount as one went further back in housing types. The other reason for current optimism regarding wood-getting was the introduction of snowmobiles. There was again unanimity in assessment of the advantages of using these vehicles for procuring the wood supply. The fact that people had to go a further distance now to get their firewood was more than balanced by the increased ease in transporting it back. There appeared to be little worry that continued village concentration in one location would endanger the supply of wood. We were assured that there was much wood remaining in the Round Lake area within transporting distance. The time spent in getting it, while appearing very great from our point of view, is nevertheless decreasing according to Round Lakers' attitudes. Some men and boys are also in the business of hauling wood for others and the revolutionary nature of the introduction of the snowmobile is probably felt most in the realm of wood-getting. Some Round Lakers expressed the notion that other types of fuel might be a future possibility. They made inquiries about the cost of oil and also the possibility of a road coming near to Round Lake.

Notwithstanding some change in the direction of independence from the land, Round Lake families still require that certain members expend considerable time and effort in getting food, fuel

and water. Women do most of the last (although there is leeway here) and also certain types of fuel and food duties. While the men generally cut down and transport the logs, it is women's work to cut up and split the firewood for the stove. Women also snare hares, secure other small game and do some fishing for family needs. As a rule, it is only the men who do major hunting and trapping although exceptions are noted.

Life is still "hard" for these Subarctic Indians, if that is taken to mean that killing a moose is not a sportman's pride but a father's necessity, partridge are not exotic fare but rather one only hopes to shoot enough of them that each member of the family will have some meat for dinner and lakes filled with prime eating fish do not represent a summer paradise of sparkling waters and escape from mundane cares but rather hard and messy work the year-round securing and preparing a staple food. Round Lake people may be enjoying the greater amount of freedom they now have from these subsistence necessities, but some of them may be looking forward to a time when, like the white men, Indians will be emancipated from the "hard life". But for most Round Lakers the degree of continuation of the old structure appears to give satisfaction, coupled as it is with an alleviation of the "hardness" noted within their lifetime by all adults in the community. Older members, who recall that fatal outcomes were as frequent as survivals when

game was scarce or illness came, never failed to remark on the relative ease of living conditions today. They are grateful to be the ones who survived and they generally state their gratitude to the Euro-Canadians and their government for the relative comfort of their old age and the life potential of their children and grandchildren.

Patterns of Buying and Consumption: Two stores in Round Lake account for most of the community's retail business.¹ The Hudson's Bay Company store, the larger of the two, has been established on the present site since 1949. The Weagamow Co-Op store began operation in 1968. A third store, operated in the home of the owner, does a small business, mainly in handicraft supplies. It does not appear to draw any significant amount of business from the other two stores and will be excluded from the following discussion on the basis of its limited operation.

The Hudson's Bay Company store is located on the lake shore near the southern end of the village. The building is fairly large; with its white paint and fenced grounds it creates a rather impressive effect from the lake. The Weagamow Co-Op is located on one of the main paths in the central part of the village. The log building is small in comparison with the Hudson's Bay Company store.

The Hudson's Bay Company store is run by a white resident

1. The Euro-Canadian community is excluded; they have supplies brought in from outside.



WEAGAMOW LAKE CO-OP STORE



ROUND LAKE ANGLICAN CHURCH

manager, assisted by one full-time and one part-time local clerk. Two Round Lake men manage the Weagamow Co-Op, a third assists as a clerk. From the limited amount of information that was obtained about the operation of the Weagamow Co-Op it appears to function only partially as a co-operative enterprise. The idea that members should share in the profits does seem to be accepted. However, there did not appear to be any clearly defined formal membership. In the survey taken of store preferences, not one individual indicated that membership in the Weagamow Co-Op was a reason for shopping there. It is not clear therefore how profits are shared.

A store preference survey indicated that most families shopped at both stores. Individual members of the family did express preferences -- some based on products, others on prices, services and store hours. Each store offers a varied stock of foodstuffs, clothing, hardware and appliances. The Hudson's Bay Company store, because of its greater size, does offer a greater variety and better display of its goods. This may account for a greater percentage of women stating a preference for shopping at the "Bay".

Although there is considerable overlap in function of the stores, each does offer special services. The Weagamow Post Office is located in the Hudson's Bay Company store and is operated by the manager. The Bay also offers a form of banking services to its customers. When interviewed in the Store Preference Survey nearly

40% of the people stated that they shopped at the "Bay" "for the cheques". These people deposit their monthly cheques with the store and spend against this account. In contrast to the regular store hours of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Weagamow Co-Op remains open later in the evening and appears willing to open its doors for business on request.

Both stores extend credit to their customers for both food and equipment. In addition, the Weagamow Co-Op gives credit for plane fares to and from the trapline. It appears on the basis of the Store Preference Survey, that the Weagamow Co-Op may be more liberal. For example, on the purchase of a snowmobile, the Hudson's Bay Company required a substantial cash payment and contract for the remaining payments. In comparison, the Weagamow Co-Op asked for little if any cash and appeared to bill the customer monthly if and when he had money. Furthermore, many persons declared that they shopped at the Weagamow Co-Op to charge groceries. Although no case was known of an item being repossessed for non-payment, the Hudson's Bay Company does restrict credit to some individuals. On the other hand, the Weagamow Co-Op is reported to find jobs for debtors to work off their accounts. The "Bay" stated that they found Round Lake people, in general, to be good credit risks.

Both stores operate as fur buyers. The Hudson's Bay Company manager grades the furs and pays the full price at the time of

purchase. In contrast, the Weagamow Co-Op pays a basic price for each fur; after the fur is auctioned, the balance, less handling costs, is credited to the trapper. During the winter of 1969-70 the Weagamow Co-Op delivered provisions by plane to the winter camps and picked up furs.

Average annual income in Round Lake is low. With the exception of those with regular salaried employment, earned income fluctuates with the seasons. Spending tends to be seasonal as well, although the correlation is lessened by the effects of government aid and availability of credit. It is probably true to say that expenditures of most families approximate incomes and that there is little saving from one season or year to the next. Beyond the necessities for living and earning a livelihood, the Round Lake family has few possessions.

The percentage of annual income spent on housing is very low relative to the Canadian average. Yet in spite of low annual incomes, a very high percentage of families "own" their own home. The minority that do not, live with a relative or use an empty house; in either case they pay little or no rent as such.¹

Housing in Round Lake may be divided into three categories:

-
1. The problem of house "ownership" is complex. The Round Lake Ojibwa may feel or believe they "own" their own homes but in fact they do not have legal title to them with a registered deed. Furthermore, the houses are built on Crown Land with Land Use Permit waved because they are Treaty Indians. Because of these facts no mortgage, for example, could be obtained from a bank on a home. Ownership, therefore, cannot be viewed as similar to that which prevails in Euro-Canadian society (E.S.R.).

that built with no government assistance; that built with some government aid and Indian Affairs Housing. In all three cases, costs are kept down by the use of local materials (logs, lumber from the sawmill), local labour, small size, simple construction and "free" building site. Prior to 1955, no government assistance was given for housing; houses were small, one storey, of log construction and usually had only one room. In 1955 the government contributed roofing materials, windows, doors and nails. In 1965 the Indian Affairs Branch began a housing program. These houses are of board construction and generally considerably larger than those built with limited or no assistance. To obtain an Indian Affairs' house, an individual must apply to the Band Council; if his application is approved, he must be able to make a small token payment. In all three ways of securing a house, capital investment by the owner is small.

Operating and maintenance costs are also low. Once constructed, money spent on upkeep is minimal. No taxes are paid; no services except the telephone are supplied or paid for. Heating is provided by a woodstove supplied with local wood.

No matter whether built by Indian Affairs or by the individual, "ownership" is recognized and respected. In the past when a new home was constructed, the old one was torn down and the materials used for the new. Now, the old one may be left standing to be used by another family. The house may be bought from the former resident



INDIAN HOME - LOG CONSTRUCTION



INDIAN AFFAIRS HOUSING

or used with his permission or at his request. In addition to their village home, many families own a trapline cabin. Individual "ownership" is recognized here as well. A person would not use the cabin of another without permission of the owner.

The increase in cash income from wage labour and government aid in the past decade has enabled the Round Lake family to purchase a greater variety of items both for making a living and for living more materialistically. Many items which were formerly manufactured in the home from local materials are now bought at the store, plus many others.

Ready-made and home-sewn clothing of factory cloth have almost completely replaced the old type made from hides. However, footwear and mittens made from hide are still manufactured and are in common use.

The purchase of equipment for hunting, fishing and trapping represents a considerable outlay for the majority of families in the settlement. Table 3.10 gives the number of households owning some basic items of equipment, household articles and non-essential or luxury goods. Information was not gathered on ownership of traps, fish nets and rifles. Household ownership of the items listed varied from none to nine of the ten items. Of the total of 70 households, 7 owned most of the items, 19 owned only basic equipment (canoe, motor and some with power saw), 22 owned none or only minor items. In the latter category were nine elderly widows and single

Table 3.10
Ownership of Major Equipment and Luxury Goods: June 1970¹

ITEM	Number of Households Which Own the Item (N-70)	Approximate Cost
Equipment - Canoe or Boat	54	
Motor	45	
Power Saw	24	\$190.
Snowmobile	31	\$800. - 900.
Household - Washing Machine	11*	
Sewing Machine	11*	
Telephone	28	\$3.60 per month
Luxury - Radio	25*	
Tape Recorder	6*	
Record Player	12*	
Guitar	10*	
Total Number of Households - 70		

female household heads whose use of items in the equipment category would be minimal.

Some generalizations may be made about ownership of items. A majority (70%) of household heads own a boat or canoe and motor. These may be considered necessities for those dependent on the traditional way of life. The snowmobile too is rapidly becoming a necessity - 44% of households now own one. These three items with the addition of traps, fishing nets and rifles, comprise the major possessions of the majority of families. Although the ownership of non-essential goods has increased, the average family still possesses few such items.

1. *These represent minimum figures. No direct census was taken; when the item was observed in a household it was included.

The impact of the snowmobile has been considered in the community. The first snowmobile appeared in Round Lake in 1963; by the end of the 1969-70 winter thirty-three were being used by Round Lake people. It is used for work and pleasure by all members of the family old enough to operate the machine. In an attempt to evaluate the effect of the snowmobile, a survey of owners was undertaken. Some of the findings are summarized in Table 3.11.

Table 3.11
Snowmobile Survey: 1969-70.

<u>Subject of Question</u>	<u>Number of Owners</u> <u>(N-21)</u>
<u>Method of Purchase</u>	
- Paid cash	2
- Bought on time	15
- Not known (second-hand purchase)	4
<u>Use of Snowmobile</u>	
- Subsistence work	18
- Commercial use	17
- Travel to trapline, fish camp	12
- Pleasure	10
<u>Record Kept of Operating Costs</u>	3

As indicated, the majority of owners used their snowmobiles for work. Hauling of firewood, both on a commercial and family-use basis, is a major use. Hauling ice for the ice-houses, freight to the stores and transport about town are other common uses stated by those interviewed. In all cases where the owner had previously

used dogs, a preference for the snowmobile was stated.

The snowmobile, in the eyes of the Round Lake Ojibwa, has made life easier. It was claimed that one machine does the work of four dogs and does not require the additional work of providing fish for dog food. Residents are able to go farther for firewood and spend less time obtaining it. Travel is easier and less time-consuming.

The cost of owning and operating a machine, however, is high. The average selling price ranges between \$800.00 and \$900.00. Most were purchased on time, necessitating a monthly payment. The price of gas is high -- ranging from \$1.60 to \$2.00 per gallon. Parts are not readily available and are expensive. It is apparent that the replacement of the dog team by the snowmobile has, while making life "easier", imposed considerable expense on the owner. It has created a new need for cash in the community thereby increasing the dependence on the external economy.

Telephone service was introduced at Round Lake in 1963. In 1964 there were 35 Round Lake (excluding white residents) households with telephones. The number dropped to 25 in 1966 and has remained fairly constant since that time, although there have been changes in the individual subscribers making up the total.

The number of households having telephones is not a true reflection of the number actually using them for communication. There appeared to be a specific group of non-subscribers with access to

each subscriber's phone. The efficient operation of the network was observed on several occasions.

Before the introduction of a money economy, goods were distributed by gift-giving along lines of kinship and inheritance. Although this is still practised today, the buying and selling of goods and services have become increasingly important as a means of exchanging goods.

The sale of goods and services between individuals in the community has become more common with the increase in supply of cash and ownership of store goods. In several cases, an old snowmobile was sold to another member of the community when a new one was purchased. The snowmobile also provided the basis for the sale of services, e. g. the provision of firewood, snowmobile taxi and hauling. These transactions occurred both between related and unrelated persons, a change from the past when most if not all transactions occurred between kin.

There has also been considerable growth in the exchange of goods and services between individuals in the community and the external economy. Most of this increase is accounted for by an increased spending by the Round Lake people. The recent rise in employment opportunities and in government aid is reflected in improved business at the stores and air service companies. As stated previously, it is probable that with the exception of those people on regular salary, spending approximates income. This is not so much a reflection of reckless spending, as a combination

of low income, high prices and conversion to materialism.

Although no specific data were collected on the household expenditure of families, some general observations can be made. Four categories -- food, transportation, equipment and supplies and clothing account for a very large part of the spending of most families. Since the individuals within the family are allowed to keep what they earn, there is some spending by the young on non-essentials such as cosmetics, pop and candy.

Expenditure for food varies with the season. During the warmer months, country food is fairly abundant and a family can be nearly self-sufficient. But during late winter, game is scarce and fish difficult to obtain. A family at this time may be almost wholly dependent on store food.

The one area of spending where the Round Laker might be judged extravagant is in plane transportation. It is becoming increasingly common to travel by plane between the village and camp sites established for trapping and fishing. Although no winter camp is more than a few hours trip by snowmobile from the village, only 12 of the 21 snowmobile owners interviewed claimed that they used their machine for that purpose. In a poor season it seems possible that the operating costs (largely transportation) could exceed the earnings from trapping.

The purchase of large items is with few exceptions on a time-payment basis. As indicated in the snowmobile survey, only

two out of twenty-one buyers paid cash for their machines. There is some evidence to indicate that the consumer does not fully understand the system of interest charges on goods bought on time. One person showed surprise that the price of a snowmobile was considerably lower when cash was paid. Another, who was negotiating a bank loan, was anxious to assure the bank that he would repay the money quickly -- rather as if they were doing him a favour. Since the use of credit is extensive in all categories of spending within the community, this contributes to the higher prices.

Remnants of the traditional gift system remain, as does considerable dependence on the land for subsistence. The community operates internally only partially within a money economy. Even in that section of the economy that does operate on a monetary basis, the actual use of cash is limited. The extensive use of credit and the practice of depositing cheques at the store makes the use of cash much less common in reality than would be indicated by the amount of money entering the community. External transactions, that is those between the community and the larger Canadian economy, are on a monetary basis.

In summary, the shift from a subsistence to a money economy is continuing. The past practice of the use of credit to overcome a shortage of cash income remains and is used even in cases where there is a regular monthly cheque. As a result,

people probably spend beyond their means (although perhaps not beyond their needs) and pay higher prices.

Although the amount of property possessed by individuals in the community has increased, the concept of property and ownership remains much as described by Rogers (C68-9). The changes which have occurred were already in the process of change at that time. As indicated in the discussion on housing, the occupant considers himself the "owner" of the house; ten years ago the village homes were considered to be the property of the government. Some change has occurred too in the distribution of meat by the hunter. Formerly he was expected to share his kill among the members of the community.¹ Now the meat is commonly sold, rather than given as a gift. This is true of all goods especially those originally acquired from external sources as a cash economy comes to be a part of Round Lake Ojibwa life.

The concept of private property (a new concept in some respects) is strong within the community and home. Children are taught to respect the property of another. As mentioned previously, money earned by a family member other than the household head, is considered to be his, not part of the family income. He is free to spend it as he wishes.

1. It must be remembered that 25 to 50 years ago, the community was much smaller and most if not all members related in one way or another to each other (E.S.R.).

Although the average family in Round Lake would be classified on the basis of annual income as poor by the definition of the Canadian Economic Council, this poorness is mainly in the possession of basically non-essential goods. The homes although small and without conveniences are warm and provide shelter. The people appear adequately clothed; some teenagers might even be described as "stylishly" dressed. Although food may lack variety, the people do not go hungry. Far from it. Furthermore, and this is of more importance, probably few Round Lake people consider themselves to be poor. The hard life of the past was experienced by most adults in their youth. Relative to conditions at that time, they are no longer poor.

Commercial History, Attitudes and Prospects: Information was obtained about various stores or trading posts which have served the Round Lake people over a period extending back about forty years.¹ Stores have existed in the Windigo and North Caribou Lake areas as well as at Weagamow Lake. Prior to 1949, the Weagamow Lake area was served by a store of a white trader, Robert Augustine. This store is shown on the 1949 Round Lake map as St.#2. It was vacant at that time as Mr. Augustine had just moved his business to North Caribou Lake after about twelve years at Weagamow. Also prior to

1. Traders may have been in the area as early as 1800 and certainly the Round Lake Ojibwa had been in contact with traders from whom they received trade goods located outside their home territory as early as 1780 if not before (E.S.R.).

1949 there had been a very small Hudson's Bay Company store¹ for a period, located in the centre area of the present Round Lake village site. We have no further information about this, except that it was corroborated by Mr. Winter of the Hudson's Bay Company that there had been such a store.

During 1949 the Hudson's Bay Company store was moved from its Windigo Lake location to its present location at Round Lake. The present buildings were constructed at that time. It has apparently always been operated by one Euro-Canadian resident manager and one full time local clerk. The latter position has been filled since the store opened in 1949 by Mr. Elijah Beardy of Round Lake who emigrated from Bearskin Lake with his family at that time.

We did not hear of any attempts to start a second store at Round Lake during the 1950's,² but there were several such during the past ten years. By 1963 there was a store, one of a chain run by an outside person (Bert Cone) with a local storekeeper. This remained until 1967, when it became the WURK store, Cone having sold his interest. The WURK store, a small operation, had three

1. An outpost or camp trade but not a post, i.e. full-fledged store (E.S.R.).

2. There was talk of such attempts and several local individuals tried to set up very limited operations in their homes (E.S.R.).

buildings in Round Lake: store, manager's residence, and storehouse. It was still open at the start of the ARDA study and will be mentioned below. In the fall of 1966 there was a store started by a Mr. Mulholland from Pickle Lake for which he built a new cabin of logs which still stands. It is said that this store was open for only two or three months, tended by a local man, Isaac Chikane. It closed up and has not been active since, the building standing untouched. About 1966, a store was opened by two Round Lake men in building No. 61 on the 1968 map, a former residence of one of them. This was referred to as the I.C.K. store, standing for the combination of the names Isaac Kanate and Caleb Sakechekapo. This store was closed in early fall of 1968 because the Indian or Weagamow Co-Op store, begun in March, 1968, was achieving success. One of the operators of the I.C.K. store subsequently went to work with the Co-Op store manager.

Although the I.C.K. store had just closed at the beginning of the period of the study, it was replaced by the WURK store, one of a chain owned by a Wunnimann Lake organization. The store was looked after by Mr. Caleb Sakechekapo, a resident of the village, from its opening until its closing in March of 1969. Its closing coincided with the building of a new and larger Weagamow Co-Op store located adjacent to the WURK store buildings. The latter has remained closed and inoperative since March of 1969. It was suggested that Weagamow Co-Op might have bought or rented these buildings (store,

residence and warehouse) more economically than building new ones but it was never learned whether or not they did consider this idea.

The Weagamow Co-Op store, begun in March of 1968 and moving to a new location and a new structure in March of 1969, remains as the second store at Round Lake and appears to be doing well. It is operated by Mr. Jowin Quequisch and will be discussed more fully elsewhere. A third store is in existence, a small operation, which specializes in materials for handicrafts. It was run by Mr. Lazarus Sakakeep from his home during most of the period of the study. He did move the store to a new location in early 1970 and may be planning to expand.

There was evidence that Round Lake people do not always see the two main stores as being in "competition" with each other. In a survey of all adults in Round Lake, many respondents did not hesitate to name one or the other store as the place where they shopped most or most preferred to shop, although about 37% of them did answer "both". Of the remaining respondents only 11% failed to state that they sometimes shopped at the store other than their choice. When asked the reason for a preference, many answers were in terms of the different goods which they purchased at one store or the other, cashing cheques, or else they cited the difference in store hours and sometimes the locations. A minority (9%) gave comparative prices.

More direct evidence of the ways in which Round Lake Ojibwa's view of competitive free enterprise may differ from that of Euro-Canadian businessmen was obtained in conversations with the Hudson's Bay Company manager and with some local people engaged in the store business. One of the latter explained the "co-operative" nature of the Indian store, especially with regard to buying of furs, emphasizing that the trapper as well as the whole community shared the profits and the good accruing from the store's operation. It was especially pointed out that with this type of store you did not have the store management gaining at the expense of the customers and the community, as was the case, they felt, which was characteristic of the operation of the Hudson's Bay Company. It was stated that Round Lake people were very grateful to the Euro-Canadians for having given them the idea of the co-operative store. It was added that some Euro-Canadians want to help the Indian and so they share their ideas. These same men did not appear to be grateful, however, for the idea that retaining more of the profits and lowering the price of the goods they sold might also aid their customers and the economic situation of the community. They only responded that their prices were high because transportation costs were high. But they revealed at the same time that they transported a proportion of their goods at a lower rate by using the facilities of the fishery plane. It might be noted that the Fishery Co-Op was operated by the same management.

The salient message appears to be that the "middleman" position is repugnant to the Round Lake Ojibwa especially when the suppliers are Round Lakers and the buyers are strangers as is the case, for example when one man makes a profit from other men's furs. This they saw as one man getting rich by keeping others down. They stated that their manner of operation meant that the whole community would "go up and up together". They do not see that the making of profit on goods bought elsewhere and sold to the community is the same. In any case, they do not appear to find it relevant that they would have to raise their prices in order to break even if they shared too many of their profits. And, as suggested above, they may be quite correct in their gauging of relevance. Perhaps they know their customers and their community better than does the Hudson's Bay Company manager who quite understandably felt that the Indian Co-Op would not be able to succeed if it continued to pay good prices for the poorer furs, extend credit liberally and engage in other business practices which most Euro-Canadians would agree look "foolish" in terms of ultimate success. Most would probably also agree that turning one's back on the fact of "competitive operation" will not make it go away. Yet it was said that the Indian Co-Op does exactly that, telling trappers, for example, to take their furs first to the Hudson's Bay Company and then bring back those furs for which they had not been offered the best price.

A conversation with another local man who had himself

considered opening a store yielded an explicit statement of the attitude toward competition. The essence of his remarks was that if anybody wants to try and have a store, they should not think about the other stores, not try to be "against anything", especially "a big company". When it was agreed that the Hudson's Bay Company was "too big to fight", the response was that one should not think about it in terms of fighting. Just think about one's own business. It was repeated that the present Indian Co-Op store was not trying to "be against Hudson's Bay". These remarks were sparked by the ethnologist's comment, when discussing the many stores that had been attempted at Round Lake, that it would take quite a bit of nerve to compete with the Hudson's Bay Company. This seemed a normal kind of comment and was not intended to arouse an argument. Yet the further remark that any store at Round Lake was automatically in competition with any other did not receive agreement. We propose that in the competition for survival (our terms) the Indian Co-Op may know better ways to "fight the opposition" than we have so far recognized. Competition for survival is not something new to the Indians of this area, and their refusal to talk about it or think about it in those terms is not new either and may be one of their behavioral habits. This will be discussed further in a following section.

In any case, from our point of view, the continued survival of the Indian Co-Op store at Round Lake indicates that there is room

for two stores in the community now and that the Indians do have skill in conducting their business. But because of this fact, it is not intended to underrate the difficulties of establishing a second store.

CHAPTER 13

SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Introduction: The following section deals basically with two areas of Round Lake Ojibwa culture; the spacial distribution and movement of people and secondly their interaction with one another and with the outside contact agencies with which they have dealings.

The spacial arrangement and mobility of the people is of considerable interest. Today they are now settled in a village atmosphere which was foreign to them not too many years ago when they had to be of necessity frequently on the move in search of food and furs and when it was not possible, except at favoured times of the year, to assemble in such large numbers as they do today. It is interesting to note therefore that even though they might be considered settled at first glance, this really is not the case. Homes, for example, are frequently abandoned or moved and the people are frequently travelling about. They have in effect adapted to village life but maintained a form of "nomadism". Furthermore, their concept of home varies from that of ours. They conceive of "house" as where they are living at the moment rather than identifying one particular spot as "home" no matter where else they may be living at the time.

The socio-political structure of the community seems to have consolidated somewhat during the past ten years. Political organization in the village is of course based on that imposed by Indian Affairs under the Indian Act in that there is a Chief

and one Councillor for each 100 individuals. It is interesting to note that they are taking their duties and responsibilities seriously and are in their own way organizing themselves in order to take action and to control their own behaviour and future. This is not to say, however, that they do not rely on or are not subjected to external forms of control and authority and that factions, or what might be termed "political parties" do not exist within the village. They most certainly do. But it might be noted, they do not appear to be, at the moment, a destructive force but perhaps may even be a healthy situation from the Indian point of view. It must be remembered that the Round Lake Ojibwa are not given to espousing "dictatorship" based on force. Their leaders in the past had been powerful men but charismatic not hereditary leaders. Leadership was based on proven ability.

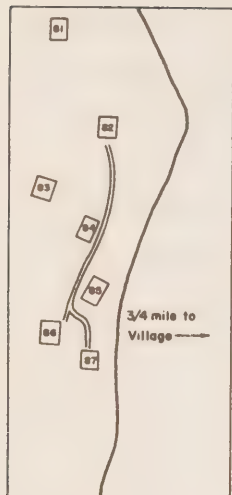
Residence Patterns and Social Organization: Round Lake population figures have been given elsewhere in this report for two periods corresponding to the start and completion of the ethnologist's field stay. The same population figures are now presented by household (persons residing in one house or dwelling). The accompanying map (Fig. 3.5) locates these households in the village of Round Lake as they were constituted in December, 1968 and June 1970. Unoccupied former residences are also located and listed. The total number of resident households in 1968 was 69,

Figure 3:5 ROUND LAKE VILLAGE

RESIDENCE MAP - 1968
REVISED FOR JUNE 1970

SCALE APPROXIMATE

0 225 450 675
FEET



WEAGAMOW LAKE

Residences are off
Map Area...

- 88 ... At Magiss Lake
- 89 ... At Fisher Lake

LEGEND	
[Square]	RESIDENCE
[Square with cross]	STOREHOUSE
[Square with cross and dot]	CHURCH < E - EVANGELICAL A - AMERICAN
[Square with cross and dot]	SNOWMOBILE GARAGE
[Circle]	SMOKE LODGE
[Triangle]	DOCK
[Square with X]	BUILDING TORN DOWN
[Square with cross and dot]	CEMETERY
[Square with cross and dot]	FENCE
[Line]	BOARD WALK
[Line]	PATH
[Line]	N.S. ... NURSING STATION
[Line]	S.M. ... SAWMILL
[Line]	Ic. ... ICE HOUSE
[Line]	Sc. ... SCHOOL
[Line]	I.O. ... INDIAN OFFICE
[Line]	I.A. ... INDIAN AFFAIRS HOUSE
[Line]	St. ... STORE
[Line]	Co. ... COUNCIL HOUSE
[Line]	G.S. ... GAS STATION
[Line]	[Square with X] ... STORE NOT IN OPERATION
[Line]	C ... CAFE

WEAGAMOW LAKE

in 1970 there were 70.¹

During the period of the study, three residence buildings were torn down and four new residence buildings were erected. Prospects for the summer of 1970 indicated several more demolitions and an indefinite number of new constructions. (Torn down houses retain their numbers, thus accounting for some missing numbers on the 1970 map).

The map shows non-residence buildings as well.² New non-residence buildings during the period were: cafe, new Co-Op store, diesel plant, nursing station, fish-packing building and shelters or garages for seven additional snowmobiles. Six street lights, which appeared after the construction of the diesel power plant are not shown. They cluster around the nursing station and school buildings. The only residences with electric power in Round Lake are those of teachers, missionary and Hudson's Bay Company manager. In addition, fish houses were constructed at several of the commercial fish camp sites. Some winter camp construction also took place but this has not been tabulated. While all these latter

-
1. Households of non-Round Lake people residing in Round Lake village are also shown and numbered. These have not been included in the tabulation of Round Lake households. However, when looking at the total scene, their inclusion will give a more accurate picture.
 2. The legend given directly on the map indicates this. Numbers were given to all buildings that had at any time been residences, for use in house history as will be described. Thus some church and store buildings have numbers, while others do not.

locations are off the village map, it will become more evident that they do belong to the living-area of Round Lake people.

History of the present site as village residence for the people of the Caribou Lake Band might be said to date from shortly after the time of the first Treaty (about 40 years ago) when the first house was built, or it might be said that the village as such began here in 1949 with the coming of the Hudson's Bay Company post and has expanded since that time as the year-around or home-base location for the majority of the band members.

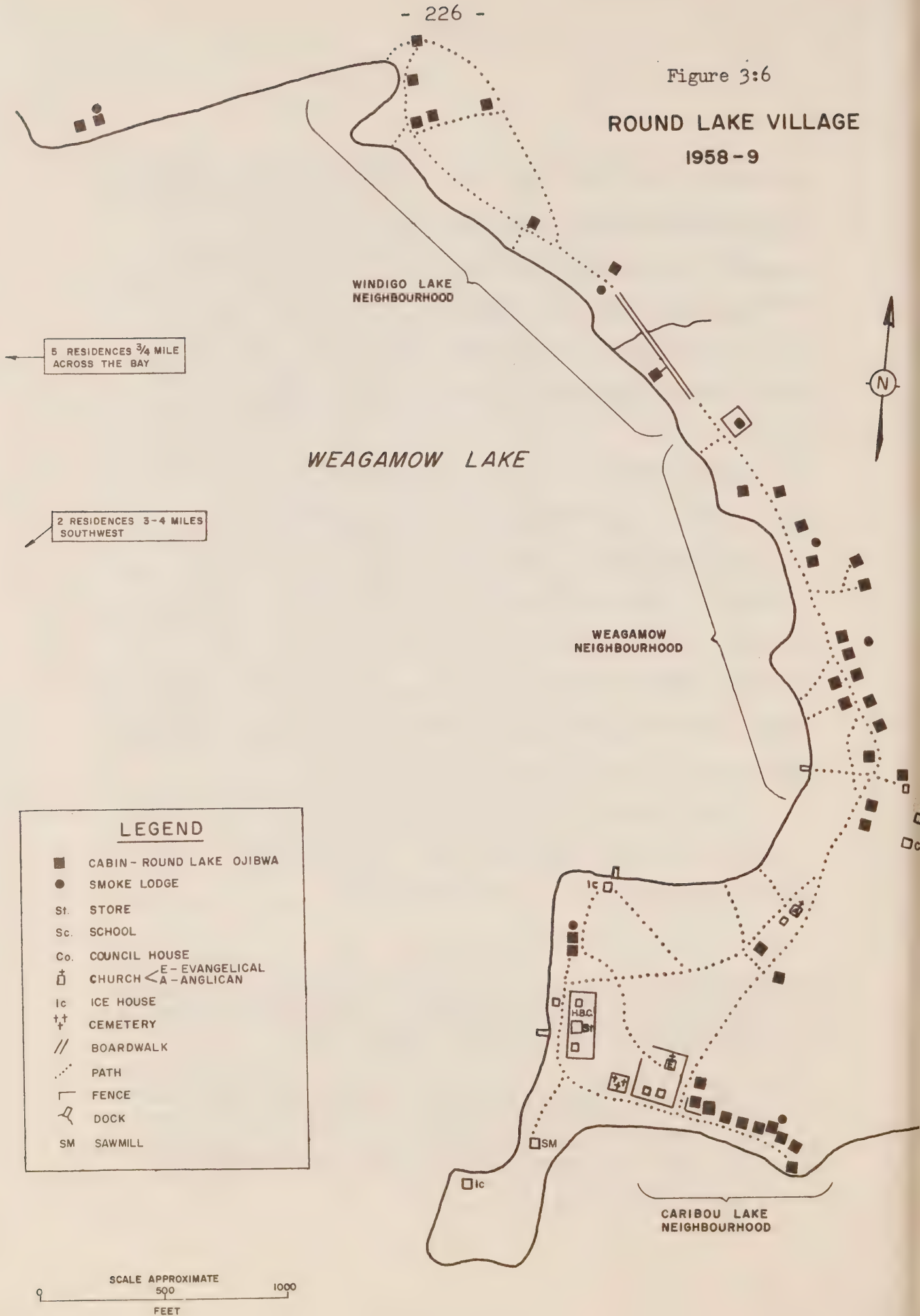
Starting with the latter view, we can first sample the 29-year history of Round Lake residences and other physical features. Village maps picturing the scene during 1958-9 and during the year 1949 are shown in Figures 3.6 and 3.7. The 1958-9 map was made by Rogers during his period of residence at Round Lake. At that time there was a total of 52 Round Lake households.¹

The 1949 map of Round Lake village was constructed during the present study in consultation with a number of long-term residents and under the direction of Mr. Elijah Beardy.²

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1. On this, as well as all other Round Lake maps, the dwellings of some families considered to be part of the community have been located off the map. The question of community boundaries, as well as map boundaries, will be discussed later.
 2. Mr. Beardy arrived in Round Lake in 1949 from his home community of Bearskin to be clerk of the new Hudson's Bay Company store, a position he retains to this day. Although the two Beardy households in Round Lake are not members of the local band, they constitute an integral part of the Round Lake community as it has developed in the past 20 years. In addition, they have direct maternal kinship ties.

Figure 3:6

ROUND LAKE VILLAGE 1958-9



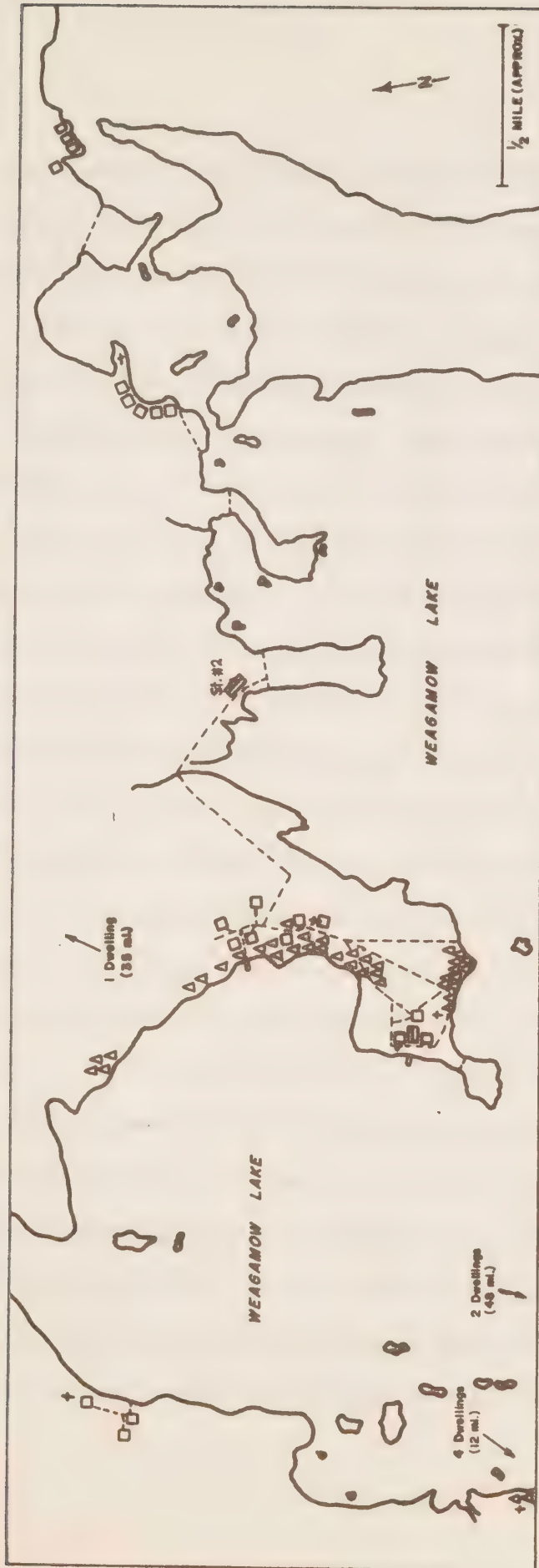


Figure 3:7

ROUND LAKE 1949

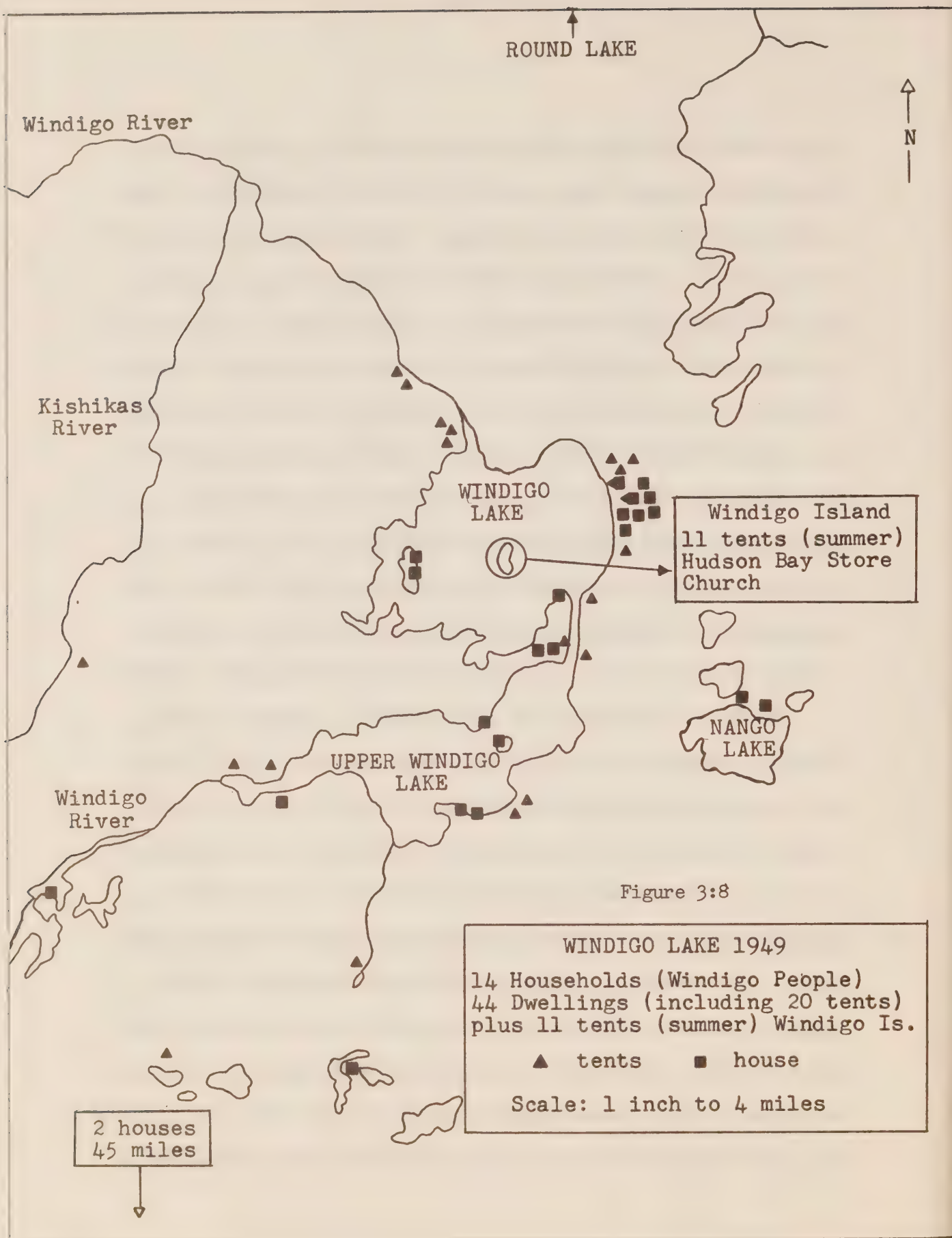
-----	Paths of portage	⛪	Church
□	Residence	■	Store
△	Tent	+	Cemetery
WINTER:	21 Households	7	Tents, Windigo People
	25 Dwellings	9	Tents, Round Lake People
		17	Tents, Caribou People

In order to show Round Lake residences as they were at the time of his arrival in 1949, Mr. Beardy drew a smaller-scale map of a greatly enlarged area, since no concentration of households to form a compact village had really begun. Even with the extended area, some households located just off the map were still judged to belong to Round Lake. Membership in the Round Lake community was based chiefly on the use of the store for obtaining provisions and selling furs and also as a focal location for Christmas and Treaty time, traditional gatherings of the whole community. There are boundary cases which are difficult to assess; of these it was decided that the Fisher Lake household would be included, along with that at Magiss Lake located nearer to the village of Round Lake. But those at McDowell Lake were excluded. The validity of this decision was happily borne out, as in June 1970, the Fisher Lake people had come and were tenting on the point at Round Lake, whereas the McDowell Lake people had not been seen or heard from during the entire period of study. They were said to spend the summers at Sandy Lake.

The 1949 Round Lake village map shows a number of households living in tents. These were summer residences of households who lived in the houses on the map during the rest of the year or of families who at that time spent only summers at the Round Lake location. The tents were added to the map by informants who recalled spending the summers only at this location around 1949. Their residences at the

other times of the year will be discussed below. It will be noted that on the 1949 map there are more dwellings than there are households, even before tents are included. Families frequently had more than one house, each for use during a different time of the year, not to mention their locations while living in tents. This is still true today when trapline dwellings represent an important residence location to many families of Round Lake and should have been shown on current Round Lake maps, to make all maps strictly comparative. Those families located off the map in 1968-70 and residing at Magiss and Fisher Lakes, are in fact staying in their trapline locations rather than maintaining a dwelling in the village. They then spend their summers camping either at Round Lake or another village of their choice, as was the normal pattern in the old days.

In order to encompass the entire community through the year 1949 more mapping was called for. The winter locations of those who lived in tents during the summer, but did not remain in the village in winter, have been recorded. The Round Lake community is composed of three former sub-communities who are still called Weagamow people (Round Lake), Windigo Lake people and Caribou Lake people. One member of each of the latter two groups was kind enough to provide wintertime residence for his own group at about the time 1949. These are shown in Figures 3.8 and 3.9. It can be concluded that the permanent features on the 1949 Round Lake village map actually represent the situation of the Weagamow Lake people.



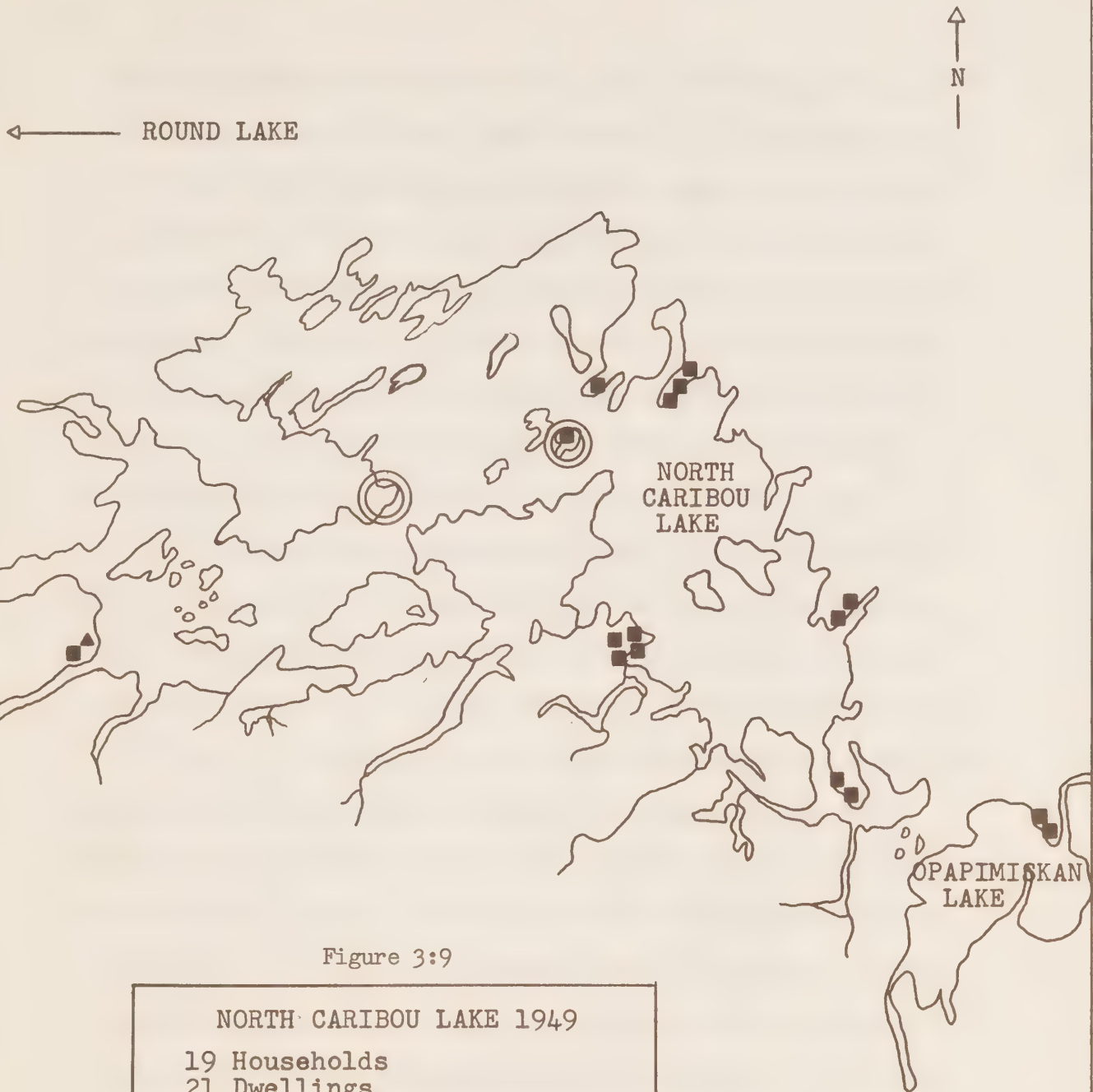
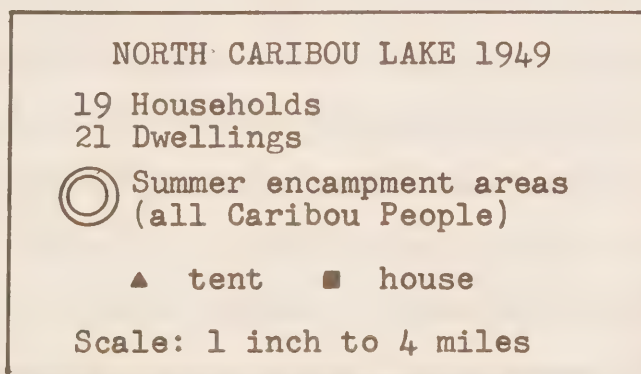


Figure 3:9



During the period since 1949, and especially since 1953 when the first school was built at Round Lake, families from the Caribou Lake and Windigo Lake sub-communities have built "year-round residences" in the Round Lake village. Most of these still return to their former home territory for the trapping season and sometimes in summer. The number of families who moved to the trapline as a unit for the two months preceding Christmas in 1968 and 1969 is presented in the section on Commercial Trapping.

The time-depth was extended back another twenty years, when older members of the Round Lake community were consulted for information of a similar type, picturing the situation at about the time of the first Treaty (1930). This material is somewhat less specific and recall less reliable, but its value in gaining understanding of the present village was considerable.

Two important and related things emerged as by-products of the attempt to map the village of Round Lake and the community of Round Lakers in a depth of twenty to forty years. First, a considerable amount of detailed historical material was obtained for the above stated time depth. Second, some nascent understanding of the concepts of family, of home, of house and of residence which are a part of Round Lake people's view of the world gradually came into focus. The learning of concepts came as much from a detailed concentration on the past as from direct eliciting of such information. What people carry around in their heads is a kind of storehouse of their own individual histories. This section will

attempt to communicate these concepts, while presenting what was learned about residence and social structure of Round Lake people from recalled past times up to and including present observations.

Historical material includes church and missionary history, store and commercial history and political movements and leaders of the period. These are referred to in other sections of the report.

Relevant to the present section are historical and current materials that have to do with (a) household composition, (b) neighbourhood settlement patterns, (c) permanence of any given residence site, (d) permanence of the house structures themselves and (e) general mobility and "nomadic" cycle. Investigation of each of these yielded information on Round Lake concepts of residence, as well as the degree of change that has occurred in the past twenty to forty years. It is to be remembered that "historical" material regarding Round Lake village refers to history of the recent past. Thus, it has particular relevance to the present, for either it still obtains at the present time or its replacement by novel patterns is so recent as to be part of an experience of change in the lives of most Round Lakers, rather than something relayed from the past through those who have gone.

Tables 3.12, 3.13 and 3.14 give types of household composition for 1949, 1958-9, 1969 and 1970. In the 1968 household census, each of the 69 households was composed of one nuclear family, with the following exceptions: 1) three households contained a second

Table 3.12
HOUSEHOLD CENSUS: January 1969¹

House #	Household Composition	Total	House #	Household Composition	Total
1	Man, wife, 3 children	5	45	Non-Indian	
2	Man, wife, 4 children	6	46	Man, wife, 7 children	9
3	Widow	1	47	Unoccupied	
4	*Man, wife, 2 ad., 1 child	5	48	Man, wife, 3 children	5
5	Man, wife, 5 children	7	49	Widow	1
6	Man, 1 adult, 1 child	3	50	Unoccupied	
7	Man, wife, 6 children	8	51	*Man, wife, 3 ad., 6 ch.	11
8	Man	1	52	Man, wife, 2 children	4
9	Man, wife, 7 children	9	53	Man, wife, 2 children	4
10	Man, wife, 1 adult		54	Man, wife, 1 ad., 9 ch.	12
11	*Man, son-in-law & wife, 3 children	6	55	*Man, wife, 1 ad., 4 ch.	7
12	Man, wife, 2 children	4	56	Man, wife, 1 child	3
13	Man, wife	2	57	Man, wife, 5 children	7
14	Man, wife, 6 children	8	58	Man, wife, 1 ad., 3 ch.	6
15	Widow, 1 child	2	59	*Widow, 1 ad., 2 ch.	4
16	Man, wife, 4 children	6	60	Widow	1
17	Man, wife, 4 children	6	61	Unoccupied	
18	Non-Indian		62	Widow	1
19	Non-Indian		63	Man, wife, 4 children	6
20	Non-Indian		64	Man, wife, 3 children	5
21	Non-Indian		65	Unoccupied	
22	Unoccupied		66	Unoccupied	
23	Unoccupied		67	Man, wife, 1 ad., 6 ch.	9
24	Widow	1	68	Unoccupied	
25	Man, wife, 1 ad., 4 ch.	7	69	Man, wife, 1 ad., 1 ch.	4
26	Man, wife, 3 children	5	70	Man, wife, 4 children	6
27	*Man, wife, 6 children	11	71	Man, wife, 6 children	8
28	Man, wife, 1 ad., 6 ch.	9	72	Unoccupied	
29	Man, wife, 4 children	6	73	Man, wife, 5 children	7
30	Man, wife, 4 children	6	74	Man, wife	2
31	Man, wife, 1 ad., 7 ch.	10	75	Man, wife, 4 children	6
32	Man, 3 children	4	76	Unoccupied	
33	*Man, wife, Widow & 2 ch.	5	77	Man, wife, 7 children	9
34	Man, wife, 6 children	8	78	Man, wife, 2 children	4
35	Unoccupied		79	Widow	1
36	Unoccupied		80	Man, wife, 6 children	8
37	Man, wife, 1 ad., 3 ch.	6	81	Unoccupied	
38	Man, wife, 3 children	5	82	Widow	1
39	Widow, 1 adult	2	83	Man, wife, 1 child	3
40	Man, wife, 6 children	8	84	Man, wife, 2 ad., 1 ch.	5
41	Man, wife, 6 children	8	85	Widow	1
42	Unoccupied		86	Man	1
43	Man, wife, 1 child	3	87	Man, wife, 1 ad., 1 ch.	4
44	Non-Indian		88	Widow, 2 adults	3
			89	*Man, son & wife, 2 ch.	5

1. 1 adult - indicates a person unrelated to the family

* - indicates more than 1 nuclear family

House #	Household Composition	Total	House #	Household Composition	Total
1	Man, wife, 3 children	5	48	Torn Down	
2	Man, wife, 5 children	7	49	Widow	1
3	Widow	1	50	Man, wife	2
4	*Man, wife, 1 child, 2 ad.	5	51	*Man, wife, 3 ad., 6 ch.	11
5	Man, wife, 5 children	7	52	Man, wife, 2 children	4
6	Man, 1 child	2	53	Man, wife, 3 children	5
7	Man, wife, 7 children	9	54	Vacant	
8	Man	1	55	Man, wife, 1 ad., 3 ch.	6
9	Man, wife, 1 ad., 7 ch.	10	56	Man, wife, 2 children	4
10	Man, wife, 1 adult	3	57	Man, wife, 5 children	7
11	*Widower, son, wife, 1 child	4	58	Man, wife, 1 ad., 3 ch.	6
12	Man, wife, 2 children	4	59	*Widow, 1 adult, 2 children	4
13	Man, wife	2	60	Widow	1
14	Man, wife, 1 ad., 6 children	9	61	Torn Down	
15	Widow, 1 child	2	62	Widow	1
16	Man, wife, 5 children	7	63	Man, wife, 4 children	6
17	Man, wife, 1 ad., 3 children	6	64	Man, wife, 4 children	6
18	Non-Indian		65	Man, wife	2
19	Vacant		66	Store	
20	Non-Indian		67	Man, wife, 1 ad., 6 ch.	9
21	Non-Indian		68	Vacant	
22	Man, wife, 6 children	8	69	Vacant	
23	Vacant		70	Man, wife, 4 children	6
24	Widow	1	71	Man, wife, 6 children	8
25	Man, wife, 1 ad., 4 children	7	72	Vacant	
26	Vacant		73	Man, wife, 5 children	7
27	Vacant		74	Vacant	
28	Man, wife, 2 ad., 5 children	9	75	Man, wife, 5 children	7
29	Man, wife, 4 children	6	76	Vacant	
30	Man, wife, 4 children	6	77	Man, wife, 1 ad., 7 ch.	10
31	Man, wife, 1 ad., 7 children	10	78	Man, wife, 3 children	5
32	Man, 3 children	4	79	Widow	1
33	*Man, wife, 1 ad., 2 children	5	80	Man, wife, 6 children	8
34	Man, wife, 1 adult, 5 children	8	81	Vacant	
35	Vacant		82	*Widow, son, wife, 3 ch.	6
36	Torn Down		83	Man, wife, 2 children	4
37	Man, wife, 1 ad., 3 children	6	84	Man, wife, 3 adults	5
38	Man, wife, 3 children	5	85	Widow	1
39	Widow, 1 adult	2	86	Man	1
40	Man, wife, 5 children	7	87	Man, wife, 1 ad., 1 child	4
41	Man, wife, 6 children	8	88	Widow, 2 adults	3
42	Vacant		89	*Man, wife, son, wife, 2 ch.	6
43	Man, wife, 1 child	3	90	Vacant	
44	Non-Indian		91	Pentecostal Church	
45	Non-Indian		92	Man, wife, 4 children	6
46	Man, wife, 7 children	9	93	Man, wife, 3 children	5
47	Vacant		94	Man, wife, 1 ad., 1 child	4
			95	Man, wife, 2 ad., 9 ch.	13

1. 1 adult - indicates a person unrelated to the family

* - indicates more than 1 nuclear family

Table 3.14
Types of Household Composition 1949 - 1970¹

Type of Household	1949	1958-9	1968	1970
Single persons	0	3	10	9
1 Nuclear Family or Remnant	18	32	49	52
1 Nuclear Family *	2	17	9	8
2 Nuclear Families	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total Households	21	52	69	70

nuclear family. In each of these, the second family was that of a son or daughter, his or her spouse and their small children. Two of these younger families had moved to houses of their own by the time of the 1970 census. But by this date, another household had acquired a second family of similar composition and relationship as those of 1969. This young family had moved back to Round Lake from residence elsewhere. Of these four cases of double households, the head of the household in three cases was a single older person, a widow or widower. Between the 1968 and 1970 census, only one marriage had taken place and the couple took up residence with the

1. Single - one person

Nuclear - mother, father, offspring (including adopted)

Remnant Nuclear - mother, or father plus children

Nuclear * - Nuclear plus something less than another nuclear family (relatives or non-relatives including remnant).

widowed father of the husband. Thus in the two censuses, there was only one case of two full families in one household of the five cases of a young couple living with a parent or parents. 2) In addition, in the 1968 census, there were three cases of a second incomplete family in a household where the father of the second family was missing for one reason or another. 3) Another type of household containing more than a nuclear family was represented by four cases of households including a single person unrelated to the family. One of these also contained the elderly widowed mother of the household head. This was the only case where an old person was a dependent in the house of a son or daughter's family. Of the remaining fifty-nine households, forty-nine contained single family units and ten contained single persons (a few of the single family units are missing one parent (spouse) but these have not been tabulated separately). Although the single persons living alone are residing near family households to whom they are related, it was strongly held by local persons working on this census that these "loners" maintained their own household and could not accurately be described as dependent upon another household unit. Two of the single person households were unmarried young men, the other eight elderly widows.

During the course of obtaining family residence history, it was learned that at least twenty of the approximately thirty Round Lake couples who married since moving to Round Lake village spent the

first year of their married life, and frequently several years, sharing the household residence of their parents and in-laws before establishing their own household. It was most common that the couple spent a part of that period with each of their parents. This figure, it should be noted, represents only young couples married since the inception of Round Lake village, 14 of them since 1960. Similar information was obtained only incidentally from some of the older people already married before the custom of erecting year-round residences at Round Lake had commenced. However, it was stated that in the past it was customary for couples to live with either or both sets of parents during the initial years of their marriage. Sometimes the association extended on indefinitely. It may be of interest that the view of informants was that this custom had altered quite drastically and that the alteration was based on the fact that couples now "want" a house of their own immediately or as soon as possible after marriage, whereas in the past they did not feel this desire. The change in preference was attributed to learning "the right thing" from white people (Indian Affairs), who have "laws" stating that only a certain number of people can live in one house. Today everyone here "knows about that" -- the right way -- and it is not necessary to enforce the laws, as people changed as soon as they learned. In addition, the government gives aid in building new houses, making the Indians' desires possible of fulfillment.

Since the informant dates this change of heart and residence pattern some time after 1949, it is interesting to note the considerable number of actual cases that still conform to the old way. It is probable, though, that the average period of co-residence was shortened. When questioned whether the single person households were also government inspired and financed, informants contended that in the case of young unmarried individuals they simply preferred and built their own house. (The case of the elderly "loners" was not similarly questioned, an unfortunate oversight, since it is usually easier for the young to prefer new ways. Note that eight of the ten "loners" are old people in 1968.)

"Brainwashing" as the above implies will be discussed in a later section. It is suggested that in regard to housing, Ojibwa Indians very likely already "preferred" individual family residences whenever prosperous enough to build and maintain them. A look at the historical materials tends to support this suggestion.

Household residence maps of 1959 and 1949 do not, in fact, show any great increase in double family households. At the time of Rogers' census there were none. It was summer and there were four families in tents, however. This is simply a ground-count at a given time; we have knowledge of cases both before and after 1959 where couples lived with parents during the first year or so of their marriage (Rogers 1962: B66-B69).

The 1949 map shows only one of twenty-one household residences

to contain more than a single family unit. Two more have added members (whole families) at Christmas time or summers only, although in summer these are seen in tents nearby. About six families have second houses at a different location beyond the extent of the map for use at other times of the year. This results in a picture of doubling up during certain seasons (notably Christmas) but of a superfluity of houses versus households in the overall count -- twenty-five houses to a total of twenty-one households. Once again, the one permanent double household contains a young couple not yet established. The picture for 1949, however, shows a great deal of moving about and also a flexibility and constant change in the actual composition of households. This was not random or according to whim either as to relatedness of members or the timing of moves and period of stay. The general picture of mobility as it fits the necessities and yearly round will be given below.

On the 1949 map of Caribou Lake and Windigo Lake peoples, no double family households were reported. Closely related people had households near each other, sometimes in tents, but are not reported to have inhabited the same dwelling. These neighbours took the form of a father and his married sons in several cases and it was not questioned whether these sons had at first shared the house of their parents before building their own. Proceeding to even older maps, for the period about forty years ago (the time of the first

Treaty), there appears again to be related families residing close to each other, but generally in separate tipis. On these older maps, especially, the phenomenon of multiple locations for the residence of a single family is apparent. In addition, groups of related families were shown to move from one of these locations to another together, so that neighbours, as it were, remained constant although the site changed. On the older maps, there still are elderly people, especially widows, occupying a house or tent by themselves.

In summary, it appears from the data that the household containing one nuclear family has been the rule as well as the preference for some time. House crowding took place at certain gathering times, but even then separate tents were used when weather and resources permitted. The data for earlier periods may be somewhat skewed to give this impression, however. While this could be due either to a desire to "agree with" Euro-Canadians' standards on the part of informants, or to their reporting only the names of the major family in a household, such behaviour was not detected though it was both expected and controls to correct it exercised. It is possible, however, that only the major household families were identified, especially since mobility at the time was considerable. Actual household composition (as well as location) changed frequently and this factor could not be adequately controlled. Some further data, (see below) provide information

indicating that just prior to the introduction of log houses as dwelling places for Round Lake people, there were aboriginal structures which housed up to five families simultaneously, for various limited periods of the year. The period before 1930, then, probably saw multiple family dwellings more frequently in use and it is not supposed that this custom changed overnight to one of single-family units. Nevertheless, our reading of the total data leans strongly toward a concept of family and of household limited to the nuclear relationships as a basic social unit.

All maps show that neighbourhood settlement patterns correspond to at least two variables; kinship relations and group of origin. They also show a certain amount of consistency of membership through changes in habitation site, as has been mentioned above.

In the past, Weagamow Lake, Caribou Lake and Windigo Lake people formed sub-communities located at some distance from each other during the greater part of the year and the component families scattered within the groups territory. In summer the people gathered more closely together to form a type of village life, and for the most part (in the oldest times recorded in the materials here) the summer settlements for each sub-community were separate. This did not preclude a considerable amount of visiting and mobility and also inter-marriage between the sub-communities. In addition, the Treaty time gatherings were generally of the whole band (all three sub-communities), and were at Round Lake for most of the period in question. The Christmas time gatherings depended upon

the location of a church and/or church leaders, and also the location of the post or store to which the trappers would bring their furs. By 1949, most of the community was gathering at Round Lake for Treaty and often for much of the summer. Here they put up their tents, maintaining certain neighbourhood sub-community patterns. The 1949 map shows three separate groups of summer tents, one of the Windigo Lake people and two of Caribou Lake people. When these families subsequently built homes at the Round Lake site, the houses were placed more or less where the people had been accustomed to place their tents. Rogers' 1959 map shows a Weagamow neighbourhood, a Windigo neighbourhood and a Caribou neighbourhood within the Round Lake village. During the period of the present study, although it was said that this division according to group of origin "is getting all mixed up", there still is evidence of neighbourhoods identifiable as Windigo, Weagamow and two different groups of Caribou Lake people. It was noted that persons from certain neighbourhoods stated that they "never visited" certain other areas of the village and in fact showed themselves to be less than familiar with these other neighbourhoods.¹

In addition, it is apparent that both visiting and the choice of residence location correspond to kinship ties. As has been stated, new houses are frequently erected in the neighbourhood of

1. A study of exactly who visited whom would, we believe, turn up some interesting results, but this was not carried out.

the parents of either the husband or the wife. While "a father and his sons" association is the case in previous periods, actual choice depends upon which parents are living, the "power" status of the older household and probably the site preference of the young couple. Before the advent of year-round residence in one village (Round Lake), neighbourhoods were greatly dispersed and choice of kin would seem to have been more important. It should not be overlooked that neighbourhoods could and often did comprise a single family, who spent the greater part of the year with no neighbours at all -- as still is the trapline situation in several Round Lake cases. It cannot be over-emphasized that concentrated village life is new to the Round Lake people and much evidence was on hand that they still feel more comfortable when the nearest neighbours who are not close kin are located some miles distant. In particular, they expressed a feeling of constraint now that they can no longer as easily and readily pick up and travel, as a family, to some point miles away for a longer or shorter period of camping life. At least they feel they cannot do this whenever they have the notion or need, as in the past. That the urge is still not totally frustrated will be shown below under "Mobility" including a census of physically resident families during spring breakup, 1970.

Now that both sets of parents may be only a few minutes away, location of the household would seem to be less important. However, kin-based neighbourhoods in Round Lake today are still the rule.

The number of households located adjacent to husband's family is 21, near wife's family is 11. One house was built onto a father-in-law's house, using one wall in common, but with no door between. It is said that trapline houses are often built in this manner. This does not constitute one household but operates the same as if the dwellings were several feet or yards apart and seems to represent only an economy of materials, heat and so forth. On Rogers 1958-9 map, one house is also of this type which is shown housing the families of two brothers. Again this was actually two houses, not a multi-family dwelling.

It was found that Round Lake households (for which the term "family" is a rough substitute) are found on our older maps with multiple locations and on our current maps with only a primary location -- generally Round Lake village. The fact that their additional residence sites of 1968-70 are not shown is partly an artifact of having started out to map the village. It also reflects a change in fact and concept -- a change toward having a "primary" residence site. On the older maps it was often the case that no one spot could be labelled by informants as strictly primary or permanent. Primariness could only be spoken of within a context of activity and season. Even then, the answer to "Where were you living then" was frequently "All over the place" or "Travelling around" for which some kind of boundary circle rather than X was needed as a map symbol. This occurred chiefly while compiling

personal residence histories from birth to the present of a sample of 26 Round Lakers.¹

By super-imposing personal residence history maps on some of the community residence maps, already described, a clearer picture emerged, although not, unfortunately, a simpler one. It was evident that the houses marked on the latter maps were no doubt standing empty a good part of the time, or in the case of tents, were there only momentarily, as it were. Now it was pure ethnocentrism to conclude that because a family's house stands empty that the family is not "at home". Yet our own concepts are so ingrained that the field worker felt at first somewhat cheated at having made a "residence map" of empty houses.

The significant thing here is that the residence maps could be made, which meant that households could be identified or associated with particular area sites within the larger "home base" of the sub-community-lake area (in Weagamow, Windigo and Caribou) which they "belonged to". There is an Ojibwa term which bi-linguals decided was closest to the English concept of "home" odawin. This can be glossed most accurately as "the place one belongs to". This term

1. The sample consisted of fifteen males and eleven females. Six ranged in age from 15 to 20; 4 from 20 to 40; ten from 40 to 60 and six from 60 to 80. Nine came from Weagamow; eight from Windigo; seven from Caribou and two from elsewhere.

is now used for "town" in English (or "home-town", as it always occurs in the possessed form, though the possession "his place" is omitted in modern usage). Some effort was spent investigating the Ojibwa language concept of "belonging to". Describing someone as a "Caribou Lake person" is the same as saying "he belongs to Caribou Lake". This suggests membership in a group of people. One belongs to people, not things or places. Referring to the past, one speaker was interpreted as stating "she belonged to Gič^íi David" which meant she was one of those at the summer encampment which each year assembled around this leader. Round Lake households can also belong to the people associated with certain general land sites, independent of whether or not they built a house or pitched a tent there or "just travelled around". Probably English "home" also refers to the place we belong to, but it turns out Ojibwa speakers do not express a belonging to houses or buildings quite as readily as do English speakers. Living at "the place one belongs to" appears to contrast with a term best glossed "camping" (išikapese^í) used as in English to refer to living temporarily in a place not "home".

Most Round Lakers probably now belong primarily to Round Lake village. But many still return for trapping and spring or summer camping to the place they belonged to thirty or forty years ago. The facts show that permanence of residence sites in general far outlasts permanence of any particular dwellings erected for residing

in. This statement applies regardless of type of structure or time period -- past or present.

Houses were not commonly built by Round Lakers prior to about forty years ago. Moss tipis, canvas tents, other types of tents and lean-tos, as well as trapline cabins, were all described and drawn from memory by older informants. They also drew the first types of houses. For each, it was indicated whether the structure would represent "camping" or "living at home". For older times, staying one or a few nights, was contrasted with returning to the same spot to tent again, or returning to use the moss tipi for a second winter. For modern times, "camping" was contrasted with "house living". Some of the former, even the most temporary, structures could be built to house one, two or up to five families, it was said. Others were employed as sleeping shelters for from one person to four people. The size would then depend upon the needs of the moment. As will now be seen, the dwellings themselves changed just as rapidly as the needs of the moment.

Information was requested as to how long each of these structures was expected to be used before being abandoned or torn down. As would be expected, the older types also had the shortest duration times. Speaking now only of "home-living" and not of "camping" but before the advent of log cabins, no structure was used more than two winters. After that it was no good and another one was made in a new place. The sticks would be too weak and the

moss dried out. Houses, on the other hand, are said to last a "very long time". Even the early log cabins might be good for up to ten years. Houses standing today are considered old at ten years, but may be usable for a few years longer. Predictions regarding the newer-type government construction were not requested. This construction has all taken place at Round Lake within the last ten years. Now that dwellings are used for such a relatively long period of time, changing needs result in the building on of additions to the dwelling, often partitioned separately, as the family grows, children marry or old people are taken in.

The idea that a house should be torn down and replaced within ten years is still current among many Round Lakers. This may be based upon sound judgment as to safety and comfort or it may be a retention of previous habits; possibly both. When talking about residence histories, it was often stated that a family still lived at the same location but "not of course in the same house". The history of the Round Lake village showed the same pattern of mobility extending into the present and considered by the people for the future. That is to say, houses or buildings are torn down and the materials used again to construct new buildings, located often but not always quite close to the original site. The future extension is an interesting one, in that the former residence now used as a meeting place for the Pentecostal Church is expected to be torn down this summer and the materials have been spoken for by

the leader of the Anglican Church for use in making an extension on his church building.

Round Lakers contended that the government had discouraged the practice of tearing down a house that was still usable as a home for some family. This may account for a number of the vacant houses on the current map. Not all houses were torn down in the past; many have a record of successive occupancies with periods of standing empty. The opinion was expressed, however, that it was not good for a house to stand empty, that it would decay and wear out faster if not occupied. Some owners were glad to give permission for others to occupy their dwelling if they were leaving and expected to return. The concept of ownership of houses was somewhat difficult to ascertain. When a family moves to a new house, it is considered that their permission must be obtained before another family takes over their former residence. In some cases houses have been sold. It was said that Indian Affairs requested that recipients of new government housing give their former house freely to another family but this has not always been the case.

The following figures document the temporary nature of housing. No house on the 1949 map is still in use; one only still stands unoccupied. Many of them had disappeared at the time of Rogers' 1959 map. Of the forty-six residence buildings on Rogers' map, about twenty are still in use today. In the intervening times between maps there were still other structures which came and went.

An estimate was made from the record of the house histories that the total number of residence structures which have existed at Round Lake since 1949 is 140. The average duration is roughly about ten years.

Thus, in the experience of Round Lake people to date, a house or other dwelling has a high order of physical impermanence from the Euro-Canadian point of view. For the Round Laker on the other hand, today's houses and village life represent a high order of permanence greatly in contrast with recent "nomadic" habits in which the concept of house or dwelling was that of a structure one expected to be leaving momentarily or to be replacing soon.

To complete the residence picture characteristic of Round Lake people in the past forty years, the idea of motion must be accorded central importance along with considerations of time and duration. Proper residence maps of this population would ideally be maps in motion. Asking informants to recall the residence situation of a given year in the past was in effect to request a freezing of the motion at some point in the cycle, or a summary of the entire year. When the latter occurred, the maps showed more residence locations than there were families and it would be meaningful to have a map with blinking lights which would light up the occupied structures at successive periods of time.

The yearly round of subsistence activities has been reported by Rogers (1962: C4-C14). Successive moves to different parts of the

habitat were required in order to make a living. An attempt to classify the different types of residence location as "temporary" versus "permanent" or as "primary" versus "secondary", tended toward confusion. Primariness appeared to be relative in the context of season and activity, whereas the degrees of permanence delineated by informants comprised a range which, for the ethnologist, fell so far to the side of impermanence as to make it difficult to grasp the fine discriminations. A more meaningful breakdown of residence types, for our understanding of Subarctic Indian residence concepts, might be the dichotomy between gathering time residences and dispersal time residences. While subsistence requirements and the extremes of nature's restrictions in the realm of weather, dictated the most pressing portions of the yearly round, traditional gathering-times containing social and political ingredients were strategically inserted, leading to an overall alternation between dispersal-times and gathering-times in the residential lives of these people. Thus, Christmas time gatherings immediately followed the major fall trapping season -- a dispersed-time -- which allowed trappers to bring their yield for sale at the same time as they gathered for social and religious community-wide activities. Similarly, Treaty Time gatherings followed the period of more relaxed dispersal over spring breakup time and preceded a summer, which combined the only approximation of village life with families travelling near and far for fishing, visiting and

general taking advantage of the open waterways.

Modern changes in this traditional mobility pattern, and in the concepts of residence which accompany it, would seem to be relevant to the purposes of this study. When starting as we did from the vantage point of the Round Lake village, it appeared initially that town life had replaced the nomadic cycle, as far as residence patterns were concerned. By the end of the study period it was decided that town life is still at an incipient stage for Round Lake people. Not only are trapping, fishing, snaring, hunting and berry-gathering still major subsistence activities, but the geographical locations from which these activities can be carried out are still considered as family residence sites by most of the people at Round Lake today. Nor are they residence sites of minor permanence or primariness, although the one major change may be in the assignment of the house in Round Lake village as the major residence identification. In a study of a sample of personal residence histories, young people as well as old named their trap-line cabins and the spring and summer fish camp locations as among their residences when asked to name and locate the places where they had lived during their lifetime. This included young persons born and raised in the Round Lake village during the last twenty years. In addition, the general feeling and attitude toward these moves out of the village could not but be noticed. Whether fairly spontaneous or planned some time in advance, these moves were greeted with enthusiasm and a rather deep kind of satisfaction, by young and

old alike. As has been mentioned earlier, older people expressed a kind of constraint felt in the present village life for they do not feel that they can any longer leave the settlement with their families as freely as they once did. Gathering-times are equally anticipated and enjoyed. Visiting across settlements takes place both summer and winter by use of canoes, snowmobiles and airplanes. And finally, in the spring of 1970, notwithstanding a grasp of the degree of residual "nomadism" among Round Lakers, an unexpected exodus caused us to canvas all household residences in the village to determine just what proportions were in fact closed up and families on leave of absence from the village. This was in the period just preceding and over spring breakup. Local people also appeared to be somewhat surprised at the number of families who were packing up and leaving the village for what was described by some as "spring trapping". Local persons, however, readily endorsed the notion that this was a very understandable thing to do and subsequently some of them disappeared as well. Table 3.15 shows the census of occupied residences during this period. Those who were left behind frequently expressed the notion that trapping was in most cases not the major purpose for leaving, but rather it was just because "they wanted to go some place". The places where they camped were generally not far distant and showed a preference for the river area where the waters would be open earliest at the breakup time. Nearly all campers transported their canoes with them

Table 3.15
SPRING ACTIVITY

<u>Activity - Spring 1970</u>	<u>Number of Households</u>
Spring trapping with family	20
Spring trapping, males without family	12
Absent from village - not trapping	3
At home in Round Lake without family	<u>33</u>
Total number of Households in village	68
	—

so that their travel out was by plane, skidoo or by walking pulling a toboggan and their return was by canoe after the lake was free of ice. This survey was carried out in a kind of spontaneous intuitive response to the tenor of village life in early May, 1970. The prevailing spirit of spring release and the feeling of warm sunshine on the skin, created no hindrance to walking a complete circuit of the village to determine which families were at home. Its results, however, may be of some interest. Whether they reflect a common situation each spring or whether Round Lakers really did not anticipate so many departures is not certain. There is no question, however, as to the general approval of the notion, and evidence of a certain amount of envy among those home-based Round Lakers whose regular full-time jobs or other requirements prevented

them from leaving the village.¹

We do not wish to exaggerate the amount of yearly "nomadism" still current among Round Lakers, especially at the expense of their demonstrated abilities to take on the schedules and problems of village life. It does seem of interest, though, that the young people still in their teens appeared to have learned to share their parents' satisfaction and pleasure in a life of constantly changing residence locations and structures. But this youngest age group did show major differences from their parents and grandparents, especially with regard to their ideas about future residence. Responses to the question "where do you think you will be living five or ten years from now?" are summarized in Table 3.16 according to age groups. It would appear that all groups, and most acutely the youngest, are finally aware of changes they have experienced and changes which they expect to experience yet. Note that the youngest age group is the only one expressing a desire to live in the modern world outside of the bush country. While this represents a decided

1. We feel that the sequence of economic activities through the calendar year is so inter-twined and from the Round Lake view so basically associated with other aspects of their accustomed life, that we refrain from a graphic summation of the Round Lake year in terms merely of economic activities. Such a graph has in fact already been presented by Rogers (1962: C5). In a later section, information about the pattern of residence changes through the year, and the alternation of gathering times and dispersed times, will be discussed.

cut-off in the age group sample, other indications are that a good proportion of this youngest group will probably prefer and be best equipped to remain in the north during their adult life.

Table 3.16

Summary of Responses by Age Group to
Question "Where do you think (do you
want to) you'll be living 5/10 years
from now?"

Age 15 - 20 (5)	Not in Round Lake. Places out of the bush country. In cities or towns.
Age 20 - 40 (2)	Plan to build a new house in Round Lake, soon. Have chosen location. Close in, near school and store.
Age 40 - 60 (6)	Plan to stay in Round Lake because it's good here (gave various reasons). <u>Or</u> , if it remains good. Or would like to build a new house further out in the bush, where the land is nice. (Farther from other people.)
Age 60 - 80 (3)	No plan to move <u>again</u> . Like living in Round Lake. Better conditions than in the old days.

Traditional Ojibwa kinship and marriage systems as found at Round Lake in 1958-9 were described by Rogers (1962: B10-B34). The present study provides some evidence that persons in all age groups still know and employ kinship terminology and can define meanings (relationships) in the traditional manner. Among the youngest age group knowledge was unevenly distributed, in that some young informants were as conversant as would be expected at their age level,

while others lacked a functional degree of knowledge and claimed they rarely used kin terms but only used names in their families. Specifically, several young people who had been out to school for several years were among this group.

There was also evidence that children in their early teens had knowledge of preferred marriages under the traditional northern Ojibwa system (generally described as "cross-cousin marriage system"). It is not certain to what degree current parental attempts at arranged marriages are likely to meet with success at the present time.

Another finding of the current study was that "joking relationship" with certain categories of relatives was less understood by younger informants. They also differed from their elders in their interpretation of the "respect" concept and in applying it to certain other categories of relatives, as mutually exclusive with "joking" or "teasing".

The system of reckoning kinship and marriage rules, upon which Round Lakers today base their judgements, reactions, plans, and overt behaviour could have significance as one of the aspects in which people of northern bush communities may still differ markedly from outsiders, both Indian and white. Prolonged geographical isolation has allowed the retention of selected traditional traits. Some of these have to do with subsistence and technology of Sub-

arctic life (e.g. the wearing of moccasins and rabbitskin clothing in the childhood of persons now twenty years old). Other retained traits are less visible, but nevertheless they account for certain patterns of behaviour. This may apply, we believe, to marriage rules and the influence and function of kin ties within the community. The community, in a sense, could be defined as co-extensive with the geneological bonds of individual Round Lakers. This definition would simply allow the community's geographical boundaries to fluctuate a short distance outward from time to time, for until quite recently most marriages "out" of the community have been with persons of neighbouring settlements. Thus, relative isolation has allowed the retention of largely endogamous marriage practices up to the present time. This, however, may soon break down in the case of the youngest age group at Round Lake, for example, who will probably go outside of the traditional boundaries to find some of their marriage partners, even more than did their older brothers and sisters. However, that really remains to be seen.¹

In any case, the experience of having lived one's entire life

1. Rogers suggests an opposite view. He feels that as community size increases more endogamous marriages will take place with a concomitant increase in isolation. There will, however, be those who escape the community, marry outside and reside elsewhere. On the other hand, the community may fragment as population increases thereby continuing the practice of limited exogamous marriages.

within a community consisting almost entirely of kin and extended kin is still one which many Round Lakers have had, and which few of us outside have shared. In a community of this type, the importance of kinship ties and the kin network permeates all aspects of life -- personal, social, religious and political -- as described by Rogers for 1958-9.

Social Control and the Power Structure: One of the matters in which the kinship network played a major part in the past was the maintenance of social order. People refrained from breaking known rules partly from fear of the power of others, in this case referring to witchcraft or spirit power. When they did transgress, the pressure of community opinion would be felt by their relatives who were expected to straighten out the transgressor. Traditional Ojibwa society has been described in the literature as one without chiefs, without courts, judges, police or any formal method of enforcement.¹ What they did have was "respect"² for individualized supernatural "powers", a close kin network and miles between neighbourhoods. Today, some vestiges of that former situation may continue to operate in places like Round Lake, although, as reported

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1. Hallowell, A.I., 1955 (p. 120): ". . .there were no chiefs, nor any kind of political organization in aboriginal days. Nor were there any institutionalized juridical procedures or jails . . . No one, in short, was responsible for punishing crime or settling disputes."
 2. "Respect" may be grossly defined as fear of offending and will be discussed in a later section.

by Rogers, social control is now largely in the hands of Euro-Canadian agencies. Also, the beginning of village living is presenting some quite new social problems to the Round Lake Ojibwa.

There was no police officer resident at Round Lake during the period of the study and it was said that there had been none to date. The Ontario Provincial Police stopped by regularly to consult with the Chief about problems he might have and they could be called for any emergency.¹ Thus, a relative isolation of the bush community still makes necessary a certain amount of internal social control, of whatever kind. Insofar as this was observed in operation at Round Lake, it will now be reported first, before consideration of the role of outside laws and enforcements.

"The councillors are something like policemen", the Chief explained during one discussion with him. He laughed, however, at the idea of labelling as "policemen" the two local men who had just been appointed to watch over young children who were engaging in some dangerous sports around moving airplanes and snowmobiles. While this matter was explicitly placed outside the realm of policing, it had several features significant for an understanding of internal social control and the local conception of the role of chief. First, the Chief had considered the protection and safety of children to be part of his public duty. His action then took the form of calling a public meeting specifically for "all children

1. This occurred but rarely in 1958-9.

between the ages of twelve and twenty, and one parent from each family". At the meeting he then not only warned parents of the growing dangers in the machine age but presumed to intrude into the generally private world of parental discipline. In this instance his action was approved and the decisions of the meeting were implemented.

A number of meetings of this character took place in Round Lake during the period of the study. They were in all cases called by the Chief, after consultation with the councillors, and each was addressed to a specific problem of interest or importance to the community as a whole, although the people to which it was particularly relevant were specifically requested to attend. These meetings we shall term "town meetings", as contrasted with Council Meetings or special meetings of a non-public nature. For "town meetings", notices were posted in the stores and on posts along the paths, word could be disseminated through the schools and churches and the flag flown over the Council House while the meeting was in progress. This latter was said to be a signal that all interested people were invited to attend. Those "town meetings" which dealt with the control of the behaviour of individuals, whether inside or outside of our concept of "policing", will now be described briefly, since any such matter which the leaders judged to be appropriate to the calling of such a meeting would thereby become disciplinary matters

of the public rather than of the private realm. This distinction is a sensitive one to Ojibwa people (as it probably is anywhere), and we feel that Round Laker's use of "town meetings" to deal with matters which now affect all villagers is an interesting example of their manner of handling social change. Several of these meetings had been occasioned by some complaint or suggestion made to the Chief by various members of the community. The following is a listing of the "town meetings" held.

TOWN MEETINGS WITH DISCIPLINARY ASPECTS

MEETINGS FOR PARENTS AND CHILDREN, March 1, 1969.

MEETING ON GOING OUT FOR EDUCATION, AUGUST 1, 1969.

MEETING FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN, FEBRUARY 18, 1970.

MEETING FOR OWNERS OF DOGS, APRIL 13, 1970.

MEETING FOR OWNERS OF SNOWMOBILES, FALL, 1968.

Their significant points are now summarized.

MEETING FOR PARENTS AND CHILDREN: Parents were told to instruct their children about the dangers of things around them. Example: What would happen if they drank gasoline. Children were told to learn from their parents and to obey their parents and not to play with things that are dangerous. Children were told not to treat important things lightly, but to respect them -- followed by a list of twenty items at Round Lake which should be respected. All but the last suggestion of items to be respected were directed to children up to the age of ten or twelve years and were intended for

their protection. It was put to the parents that a citizen might be appointed to officially observe their children when playing around dangerous machines, particularly airplanes and skidoos, and the parents' views were solicited. Approval was expressed by one or two parents. A petition was later circulated to all parents upon which they were requested to mark yes or no. A "yes" presumably carried some guarantee that there would be no objection to another adult officially disciplining, reprimanding or even punishing their children if it became necessary for their protection. There were no "no" votes and subsequently two men were appointed by a conference of about a dozen community leaders called together by the Chief.

The last-named part of the agenda, "respecting important things," was intended for "children" over twelve years old who could be expected to receive the message directly and understand its import. The list of twenty institutions and other important things to be "respected" was read by one of the local church leaders. It included each of the three churches, each of the three stores, the school, the evening classes for adults, various welfare allowances received from the government, the council hall and offices of the elected officials, the telephone system and finally they were told to respect the work and residence of the ARDA study itself. It might be noted that all items listed, with the exception of one of the stores and possibly one of the churches, are activities imported or imposed from non-Indian outside sources. They are also, however,

the only public institutions that exist in the village.

In general, the admonishment in this part of the talk was simply "to be good" -- e.g., to do as well as one can at the English classes or cooking classes, to take school seriously, not to make "fun" of or "play" at things that are serious.

The disciplinary aspect of this meeting was elusive to learn about. We were told informally that teenagers had been misbehaving to some degree, making a disturbance at the stores and other public places, and in particular there was concern over the actions of a few who had shown disrespect for church services, apparently tapping on windows and mimicking what was going on inside the Church. The leaders of the meeting, however, disavowed any reprimand in their message, saying that it was only to "remind"; they equally disavowed any concern over actual misbehaviour. Control of teenagers, especially boys, still appears to be a touchy public/private problem in this community, somewhat as reported by Rogers for ten years ago. If in fact boys had been creating a nuisance during church services such that adults and church leaders had made complaint, this lecture that they should refrain from "making fun of" important and serious things was as far as the authorities went in attempting to control the disruptive behavior of these boys. No citizens were appointed to act as police. Effectiveness of the measure taken is difficult to assess; no more was heard of church molesting, and in fact the ethnologist's cabin

was strangely devoid of young visitors -- and the air free of the sound of tobogganers on the nearby hill -- for several days following the meeting. It is not known whether there was any connection. It was said that teenage boys, in contrast to girls, tended to ignore their parents' discipline. This leaves them, from all accounts, pretty much their own bosses. It was noted personally that their degree of freedom was considerable, in contrast with girls of the same age, but no actual anti-social, disruptive or disrespectful behavior was in view during the entire period of the study. Boys did demonstrate their relative autonomy in their walkout rebellion against the correspondence high school class. It was said that the girls also wanted to quit, but that they followed their fathers' orders whereas the boys did not.

Since no cases of serious offences by teenagers occurred, no evidence exists as to how such cases would be handled. The fact that none occurred suggests there would be sterner measures of some kind in store. As reported by Rogers for ten years ago, while the ideal is that people should take problems, complaints and disputes to the Chief for settling, relatives may interpret this as an invasion of their privacy and their domain of authority. It is interesting that in a few cases of adult offences observed, at least one of the three councillors was also in an appropriate kinship relation so as to be accepted as the arbiter or policeman on the case.

This meeting for parents and children was covered more fully

than any of the others. In particular, the Chief was asked about the history and the efficacy of such meetings. He stated that it had been the custom of one of the first chiefs to talk to young people this way about how they should behave, but that the two chiefs who succeeded him did not do so. The present Chief had called one previous meeting of this kind and would probably do so again "when he feels he should". "With some of them it works, others do not listen."¹

MEETING ON GOING OUT FOR EDUCATION: The Chief reported to all Round Lakers interested in the problem of schooling beyond that offered at Round Lake. While urging the need for education in the future, he warned that going out and learning inappropriate behavior habits would still result in the loss of jobs, even with schooling.

MEETING FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN: To "all Round Lakers, 14-25," after school, the Chief talked about specific items of misbehavior in school. They should not fight, pass notes in school, or disobey the teachers. No mention of enforcement or punishment was reported.

MEETING FOR OWNERS OF DOGS: People who had dogs were told that there had been complaints about the number of dogs roaming around free, getting into fights and being vicious. Also there were dogs

1. It might be noted that Ojibwa and closely related Indians to the south have reported a traditional Indian custom of "preaching" to groups of children about rules of behavior. See, for example, "Teachings of my Father", in Autobiography of a Winnibego Indian, (ed) Paul Radin, Dover 1963. Elderly Ojibwa informants in Minnesota also recalled such gatherings.

that were sick and uncared for. Owners were told that vicious dogs should be chained except at specified times, that the number of dogs should be limited to needs, that dogs that were kept should be cared for properly and given adequate food, that a house should be built for their shelter, that all dogs should be tied at night and if lost should be sought and kept track of. Collars were recommended, with the name or phone number of owner attached. Dogs who bite people should be shot. One informant indicated that dogs had received better care in the past than they get now. It was said a similar meeting had been held the year before.

MEETING FOR OWNERS OF SNOWMOBILES: In the fall of 1968 it was reported that there had been a meeting for all people who owned and drove snowmobiles at Round Lake. At that time they numbered 11. It was felt there should be rules that all agreed to, since the number of vehicles was reaching a dangerous level, and although there had been no accidents some drivers should be reminded of their responsibilities. It centered chiefly on rules for driving, such as slowing down at blind intersections and hills. When asked about enforcement, an informant repeated it was the driver's responsibility to drive very carefully and if he noted someone breaking a rule, he should stop and talk to him or her. If the person continued, he should call the Chief, who would talk to the culprit. If the person continued, he should tell the Chief, who would talk to the offender's parents -- assuming the breaker of a rule to be a young person. He did not believe adults would do these things deliberately;

they just have to be reminded to be careful. The informant kept repeating that there have to be "laws" about dangerous things but he spoke of laws only in terms of prevention, never enforcement. In these reports of "town meetings" we have noted a lack of explicit mention of penalties for infringement of the stated rules. There was also a resistance to talk about hypothetical situations and about "bad" acts by others, either hypothetical or actual. These tendencies recurred throughout the study and may at times have been specially directed at the image of Round Lake for the study. But we believe these are characteristic within Indian society.¹

To observe the imposing of penalties was even more elusive. One case which became of official concern was resolved satisfactorily within the community after consideration of an appeal to outside authorities. It was that of a young girl who had several times run away from her home. The case and its outcome were known to the ethnologist because it was to her cabin that the child came on one occasion. The chief stated that because she was an adopted child, the Council felt a responsibility to ascertain the facts and administer justice. Had she been a natural child, they would not have interfered. Several Council meetings and consultations with the school principal took place. It was decided that before an official complaint be considered, a period of observation take place

1. Typical Ojibwa behavior. (E.S.R.)

to determine whether the fault lay with the child or the parents. If the former, then she would have trouble again in another household; if the latter, they would take steps to find her a more suitable home. Several months of "observation", which included consultations with both sides, apparently provided sufficient discomfort and an actual threat so that the household resolved its own problems and no further action was needed. We believe this case to be significant as an example of the Indian approach to trouble cases. The "discomfort" of being an object of community-wide discussion and observation should not be minimized.¹

The case is also one showing the desire to resolve local troubles internally, if possible, before having recourse to non-Indian authorities from the outside. There would have been reluctance to involve local whites, as well, had the girl not already done so by her choice of a runaway destination. Round Lakers' view of outside authorities, as well as their conception of the job of a resident policeman, is discussed next.

From a position within the village, and with little prior knowledge or experience concerning the various Canadian Agencies' ways of handling Indian affairs, the picture of Round Lake relations with government, social and regulatory offices appeared to the ethnologist to be in a healthy state.

1. An Ojibwa man in Minnesota once told how a few weeks in jail was very light punishment compared with the kind of "ostracism" an offender can suffer in an Indian community.

This position of initial naivete was felt to be an advantage. The ethnologist simply learned about these things, to a large extent, from Round Lake people. For example, the role of the Department of Lands and Forests in the north gradually took form, in our understanding, as Round Lakers stopped by with questions which ranged from matters of cutting off a wolf's head or disposing of a dead beaver found on the trapline to the matter of approval for a new building on a particular site of land in the village. Although our connection with Lands and Forests was paramount and most visible, it is interesting that the ethnologist was told that some Round Lakers had dubbed her "police woman". Moreover, the Ojibwa word turned out to be same one that had been applied to Rogers, but at that time it had been translated as "game warden". We suggest that it be defined broadly as "one who takes notes and makes reports to white officials". It may be that the pressure of outside enforcement is felt now more ~~from~~ the Ontario Provincial Police than from the Department of Lands and Forests, as compared with ten years ago. It did seem that people are now less sensitive to telling freely about trapping activities than they were found to be by Rogers. In any case, there appeared to be a sense in which all outside agencies are seen as one, or at least in close association, from the view of Round Lakers. Although for specific problems the agencies were not often confused, and their sometimes lack of agreement on policy and implementation could not have

escaped the Indian's notice, there was an apparent belief that what was told to one white person would be disseminated to all -- and accordingly the most varied sorts of reluctances to talk were encountered by the ethnologist from time to time. This section deals primarily with Round Lakers' view of relations with the legal and control agencies but if it merges into welfare or education occasionally that may be a reflection of having learned about these from inside the village of Round Lake.

During 1968, the O.P.P. raised the question of hiring a local Round Lake man as resident police officer. Round Lakers' response was that they had no individual who could meet the qualifications specified. In our discussion with the Chief, he stated that although it had not been his idea he considered that it was a good idea and that it might work. Also, while there might be individuals here who could do the job, none had been found who had the requisite schooling and other qualifications. When asked what he thought the duties of such a job would be, the Chief replied that the policeman would report any problems to the Chief. If there was somebody not doing as he was supposed to do, it would be up to the policeman, and then the Chief, to talk to that person. When asked if the policeman would have the authority to arrest the person if he still did not stop, we were told that he would report it to his boss, the O.P.P.

Another local man responded that he thought he would not mind

having the job if he were qualified and he thought it would be good to have a policeman at Round Lake. His conception of the duties, as far as could be elicited, consisted of the statement that if he had the job then he would be the one whom the O.P.P. would come to see when they stopped at Round Lake to consult about local order.

In neither discussion was it possible to lead to the subject of more urgent situations which would require local action of an enforcement nature. In the view of these respondents, it seems that the addition of a police officer would make very little change in the present manner of handling law and order at Round Lake. At present the Ontario Provincial Police stop by regularly at least every six months and any time upon call. According to the Chief, if he reports any trouble, the police officers talk to the offenders and explain what they are doing wrong. If they still do not stop, the police can apply the appropriate punishment. The only such troubles officially cited to the ethnologist consisted of a time when some men were gambling and the officers, at the Chief's request, told them that it was bad, after which the frequency of gambling was somewhat reduced. The other case was that of somebody who had had too much to drink.

We believe that actual trouble cases of a serious sort would have been shielded from the eye of the ethnologist as much as possible. She may have been like a "police woman" but not to the extent that crimes should be reported to her. On the contrary. Knowledge that

Round Lake was an object of special government study had preceded her entry into the community and the consequences were never fully overcome or outlived. It was natural that Round Lakers should wish to be viewed on their best behaviour. Thus any occurrence or settlement of serious or potentially serious incidents could be learned only through partial observation or testimony, accidental involvement, the innocence of children's talk or deliberate personal meddling. All of these kinds of channels did occur, but none of them was pushed through to complete knowledge of the relevant cases. Generalizations here are, however, based upon partial knowledge of actual cases, as well as discussions with Round Lake persons. The few times when we learned that something "bad" may have happened we were told that one of the councillors had gone to see about it or that the O.P.P. will be called if necessary. When there was resistance to further questioning, we let the matter drop. There occurred actually only one or two such cases and these remain cliff hangers to this day as far as the ethnologist is concerned. There were undoubtedly other instances of violence and bad feelings which were successfully kept from our knowledge. If these were of any consequence, the medical or police offices have records of them. It was enough to establish that apprehension was felt; it was not thought necessary to arouse it further. It should be understood that we have no evidence that facts were ever withheld from the proper authorities. We only detected what appeared to be a high degree of

sensitivity as to the image of the Round Lakers which would be projected in this report.

Although it was seen at Round Lake that the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests had a close connection with the present project, people did not exhibit any fear of having broken game laws, as reported by Rogers for ten years ago. They cooperated fully in the studies of the trapping activities and appeared knowledgeable and ready to follow the standard procedures and also help with special studies being conducted by Lands and Forests personnel. One trapper agreed to an expedition accompanied by a Lands and Forests man. He conferred with the Chief regarding this decision and the particulars of the trip, so that it appears to have been of a more or less official nature from the point of view of the Round Lakers. This trapper did refuse to talk with the ethnologist about the trip upon his return but it was never discovered whether this represented a personal or official position. Another request, for turning in the jaws of moose and caribou shot during the year, was not complied with immediately; this may have been due to failure of communication, difficulty of taking the jaws or simply a delay in bringing them in. We do not currently have knowledge of the final degree of success in obtaining materials from the Round Lake area for this study. The overall Round Lake Ojibwa attitude seemed to be that the Department of Lands and Forests wished to help Indians in their economic pursuits and was not there

solely to impose and enforce laws of an arbitrary nature governing their exploitation of the natural resources.¹

Order in the school was the domain of the Indian Affairs staff and school children apparently were expected by their parents and community leaders to obey the teachers. No particular friction between teachers and parents was noted, nor between teachers and community leaders. It was said that the Chief raised objections to the behavior of one teacher and the problem was corrected. One student was expelled from the school in the spring of 1970 for causes not entirely known to us, but which have no doubt been stated fully in the Principal's report to his superiors about the matter. As far as is known, neither the parents nor the Chief raised objections or requested a review of this unusual punitive measure. Probably the Principal's report contains information about whatever conferences he had with the family and community representatives and what prior warnings he had issued on the occasion of previous offences before finding it appropriate to take such a step.

Order in the correspondence classroom was the domain of no government representative, federal or provincial. It apparently was the domain only of the parents, the Chief and counsellors and the private agreement with outside Euro-Canadians who were connected

1. It appears that the concept of game management rather than enforcement of the game laws by the Department is becoming recognized. This clearly indicates the lengthy time necessary to change attitudes (E.S.R.).

with either church or individual enterprises. The correspondence tutor attempted to enforce the rules of this agreement but with varying degrees of success. He had no connection with the Ontario Department of Education from which he secured the course materials for the students. The Department would not, in any case, have been able to support his modus operandi. He apparently received little backing from Indian leaders or parents in his attempt to keep students from leaving for the traplines or other activities taking them from regular attendance at classes. Several took the choice of "quitting" the school and it was not explained to them that this need not mean cessation of the courses they had begun. Neither students nor parents had previous experience or knowledge about the nature of correspondence school work and its normal purpose. By the time they learned about this and had secured the course materials to work on at home, the year was far advanced and a state of confusion existed because of contradictory information from Euro-Canadians. The most popular line of action for the students was to "rebel" by "quitting school". As has been stated, this "rebellion" was carried out by the boys, not the girls.

The role of the Christian churches in maintaining social order is difficult to assess and will not be attempted. As power factions they must be operative in the community of Round Lake in a complex way as part of the regulatory mechanism. As the source of internalized motivations for conforming to rules and precepts

their influence is all but impossible to analyse. It should not be concluded that it is in any sense identical with "Christian" influence for members of Euro-Canadian society in view of the mixture of Christian and native beliefs in Round Lakers' religious life. The nature of this mixture at the present time is largely unknown. An attempt is made to describe this feature of Round Lake Ojibwa culture in a later section.

In summary, Round Lake people do not appear, at the present time, to unduly fear or resent outside regulatory agencies. Some informants expressed the attitude that these various agencies were there to help them, especially with problems which were new to Indians. Regarding the past, they also expressed the idea that Euro-Canadian representatives had taught the Indians many things about better ways to live, to keep healthy and to make a living. Yet, however, it was said that in the past the Indians were afraid of the laws of the Euro-Canadians and of their constant questions and writing down of personal information. A residue of this apprehension was given by several confidants as one possible reason for some Round Lake people's hesitation to contribute to the present study. It appears, however, that their experience to date has yielded them more positive consequences of Euro-Canadian contact than negative ones. If this equation could be continued, perhaps some of the barriers to successful Indian-white confrontation might never arise in the case of peoples like those now living at

Round Lake.

Political and Power Structure: The sphere of the Chief's political and power influence in the community seems considerably increased over Rogers' description (1962: B89-B93). This comes, we believe, from the increased amount of contact with and dependence upon the outside world that the Ojibwa have been subjected to in the last 10 years. The Chief's role has functioned as the prime representative of the community to the outside world. His two functions, then, of consolidating the community as a whole and of maintaining order within the community are reinforced by the considerable sanctions he can apply derived from outside sources. As can be seen from the discussion of social control, the Chief and council at Round Lake have a wide range of duties and responsibilities toward the community as a whole. These appear to be conceived and executed intelligently and with innovative features and some courage. While we could report little about his success in settling disputes or handling complaints of a personal nature, it was seen that he successfully drew into the public realm a number of matters concerning the regulating of behavior to which the public response, at least, was one of approval. Additional town meetings, other than those listed as relating to social control, concerned matters of adult education classes in which citizens were asked to indicate their interest by signing up in advance, spring cleanup campaigns in which school children

and others were organized each to cover their section of town to eliminate the debris which the melted snows of winter had revealed and his reports to the people on various meetings which the Chief had attended when on trips to the outside as representative of and spokesman for the Band. A counsellor frequently accompanied him to these meetings which took place at locations anywhere from Sioux Lookout and Kenora to Ottawa. The present stepped-up nature of Pan-Indian involvement at regional, provincial and national levels, and government inclusion of Indian representatives in their meetings gives the position of Chief increased importance. The people of Round Lake are not unaware that their individual and community fate will be affected by what is occurring in the world outside. While for the older people this carries less immediate significance, those of middle and younger years watch developments with varying degrees of personal interest. If not always of concern to themselves, then certainly for the future of their children, which is a big question in the minds of the parents.

The last town meetings which took place before our final departure were called for the purpose of choosing a new chief. Chief Saul Keeash, having executed his office since the fall of 1967, had tendered his decision to resign, first in December of 1969 and then again in late May of 1970. The first week of June saw several meetings over the matter, rumors were afloat as to who the next Chief would be and the Chief's secretary informed

visitors that there was in effect no chief until after the election. On the night of June 6th there was a town meeting to which any interested citizen could come and register his views. At this meeting Chief Keeash was persuaded to remain as Chief for another year. This apparently constituted a re-election. However, we departed from the village the following day and were unable to observe the mechanics of the "voting" which we understand took place. We had been told that for previous elections a paper with the names of three candidates had been passed to every voter so that each could mark his choice. How the three candidates were chosen in the first place was not entirely clear.

The offices of the three counsellors, as well as that of the Chief, were filled by the same persons throughout the period of study. The counsellors, however, had been elected only in the fall of 1968 and at least one of them was commencing a second or third term of office.

The Chief's position as the prime contact agent with outside organizations gives him a certain amount of power in the distribution of favors, as for example, the choice of recipients for welfare aid and government financed housing. Some negative comments were heard about a previous Chief's misuse of this power but none regarding the present incumbent.

Groupings based on kinship ties and on sub-community (neighbourhood) origins have already been noted. These appear to cross-cut

the only major formalized groupings represented by the memberships of the three Christian churches. A partial exception is the Pentecostal Church which has a very low incidence of Caribou Lake people. Another kind of grouping could be based on economic considerations and would focus on the managers of the Indian run store and the fishery cooperative. It should be noted that the present Chief and counsellors represent all churches, all age groups, both sexes and economic interests. They also have kinship ties that are fairly widely distributed. However, the Weagamow sub-community or neighbourhood has no representation directly among the present elected officers of the band. In the new church, it might be noted Weagamow people are in the majority.

We will not speculate here as to which of the possible sources of leadership might be offering the greatest threat to the present establishment, nor try to identify the members of that establishment.¹ Round Lake people do not like to speak in terms of divisions, power threats or competition. This has been noted already in the discussion of economic attitudes.

Another example relates to the churches. The division created by the recent introduction of a third church, the Pentecostal, was

1. The "establishment", from the Indians' point of view, exists in many guises: Euro-Canadian churches, stores, schools and government agencies. Incipient Indian organization may be considered as "establishment" by some residents (E.S.R.).

deplored in 1968 at Christmas time, the first Christmas of its existence, when its adherents did not attend the usually community-wide Christmas Eve service at one of the other churches. It was said that its leaders refused the suggestion of holding its service at a non-competitive hour. Christmas time scheduling had been worked out between the other two churches so as to avoid a community split of this nature. While it is known that the third church had some difficulties getting started in the summer of 1968, its leaders now disclaim that any resistance occurred and they also disclaim any competitive motive or attitude. Their church was intended to be non-denominational and entirely Indian run. However, they have found their position more secure when associated with an established church organization. At the time of the introduction of a second church, The Northern Evangelical, in 1952, where there had been only one, the Anglican, before, similar problems had arisen but in time they were resolved.

On Christmas day the Chief himself called together a non-denominational service for the whole community, at which singing groups representing each of the three churches constituted the program. This appeared to be consolidating gesture, one which had the approval and participation of all. It is our impression that there is today more community cohesion and civic spiritedness than was reported by Rogers ten years ago. Especially obvious is a desire to present the appearance of a solid front, both to themselves

and to the outside world, while working out a rather complex power struggle beneath the surface.

It has been suggested that in the past the strong leaders were those who had demonstrated spiritual powers and possessed many living kinsmen. Religious power was political power. Today, the relatively new problems of village life and technological-economic developments in the direction of Euro-Canadian society may be creating a new kind of effective leadership in the community. While the church leaders do figure in the power struggle and church leadership still offers a position from which to advance a threat to the establishment, it is possible that the real effective power in the community is becoming secularized.

CHAPTER 14

RELIGION

Introduction: A description of traditional Indian life could hardly have isolated the topic of "religion" as a separate chapter. All aspects of life were closely associated with "religious" powers and leadership. Subsistence, illness and its causative and medical aspects, social controls, daily activities and relationships, as well as forms of worship and prayer, all fit together in a belief system which gave meaning and purpose to the daily struggle for existence. The compartmentalization of economic, social, political, medical and spiritual realms has been relatively recent and is certainly not totally accomplished.

This section describes the present state of compartmentalization of religion among Round Lakers, their degree of "Christianization" and their current attitudes and psychological coping with traditional beliefs which contradict or do not fit the message of the missionaries. This is an area in which very little solid data can be obtained or reported. Yet we believe it to be important in the personal adjustment of Indian people to the Euro-Canadian world in which they must live today and tomorrow and the day after tomorrow.

Traditional Indian beliefs as learned from Round Lakers in 1958-9 were reported by Rogers, along with his view that this pre-Christian "religion" was still alive under the surface of daily life at Round Lake in 1959 and influenced people's behavior. In 1968-70 very little hard evidence of such influence was observed.

Psychological denial and suppression were revealed and a deliberate non-teaching of the younger generations in some families about former beliefs. A systematic attempt was made to discover the differential knowledge of traditional beliefs among age groups and other breakdowns of the present population. This section will give the results of these studies, a brief description and history of Christian churches in the village of Round Lake and a note on the lack of any non-Christian religious observances, including reactions of Round Lakers to the news that such Indian traditions are accorded respectability and open adherence in some places to the south.¹

Christian Churches: Rogers has given a brief history of the missionary movement in Round Lake area (1962: A28-9), and a description of Christian churches at Round Lake as of 1958-9 (1962: D26-9). At that time there were two churches. The Anglican faith has been present in the area for the longest period, over seventy-five years beginning at Big Trout Lake, and church buildings have existed around the shores of Round Lake for over forty years. The present church building is the third which has been built on the site of Round Lake village. There were also churches at Caribou and Windigo Lakes in the past. Before Rogers' residency, the Anglican Church at Round Lake had been run by a local catechist but

1. Yet it must not be thought that Indian religious beliefs and attitudes are going to vanish. Recent developments elsewhere among Indians where modified native religions have emerged clearly indicate the tenacious nature of the belief system. This in spite of centuries of missionary endeavors. In fact, the missionaries have been largely ineffective in their work for a variety of reasons (E.S.R.).

with visiting Anglican ministers performing marriages, funerals and the like. At the time of Rogers' field work, there was no catechist but immediately following that time, around 1960, the present catechist, Mr. Henry Kakekayash, took over these duties and has been conducting regular services to the present day. During the period of the study, there were visiting Anglican ministers, both Indian and non-Indian, from time to time. The Bishop came in the summer of 1969 and held communion service with confirmation of young people. Other Round Lake people speak of having been confirmed in the Anglican Church though they may now attend one of the other churches. The Anglican catechist has stated that at the time of the introduction of the Evangelical mission at Round Lake about 1951 or 1952 most people participated in the Evangelical services but subsequently many of them have returned to the Anglican Church.

The Evangelical Church at Round Lake has been presided over by the same resident Euro-Canadian missionary for the past five years, Mr. Bert Brown. Two missionaries preceded him during a period of several years but subsequent to Rogers' work. During the first year of the present study, a visiting Indian preacher from Island Lake was also resident in Round Lake with his family. The church business of the Evangelicals is conducted by the missionary in conjunction with a board of five Round Lake citizens; in principle the Board still controls the church, with the missionaries in an advisory role. Mr. Brown preaches his sermon in English with

immediate interpreting by his wife who is a Cree woman. The church building dates from about 1952; before that time the first Evangelical services were held in the existing Anglican Church. The Evangelical compound includes the church, the parsonage and a residence for the visiting preacher. It is located adjacent to the Round Lake village cemetery but the latter predates the beginning of the Evangelical Church.

A third church was introduced into the village of Round Lake in the summer of 1968, just before the start of the ethnologist's period of residence. The new church was introduced to Round Lake by Indians from Sandy Lake and from Red Lake, Ontario, who wished to have an Indian-run, non-denominational Christian church, not affiliated with any Euro-Canadian organization nor divided by the Euro-Canadian Christian churches.

There appears to have been a certain amount of political resistance to the inception of this group at Round Lake. However, many Round Lake people were apparently interested and while some came out of curiosity and found the service a bit too noisy for their taste, others were genuinely converted and remain so to the present. Membership has grown since the formation of the church. By Christmas 1968, the church was holding its services in a former residence of one of its members, had a loyal and serious following and leadership had been assumed by a Weagamow man, Mr. Isaac Kanate, whose father had been an Anglican catechist in the Weagamow Lake

area from the early days and who himself had been lay reader at the Evangelical Church. While this new church still was not officially affiliated, it had accepted the sponsorship of the Pentecostal mission operating in this northern area. And today it is referred to as the Pentecostal Church. There has been talk of erecting a church building but this has not been accomplished to date. It is said, however, that the former residence which has been used so far as its meeting place will be torn down soon. By all appearances, it has become an established and accepted organization among Round Lake Christian religious institutions.

As has been stated, the three churches at Round Lake represent the only formalized grouping of any importance. Whether or not these organizations have a relationship at present to the power structure, their composition of membership is of some interest. In addition, they function as one of the few types of social gatherings which bring people together at specified times. All three are well attended and hold services regularly several times a week. Nearly all Round Lakers go to church and in response to a survey requesting the name of each person's church preference or membership there were no admitted non-members. Table 3.17 gives a breakdown of church membership of all adult Round Lakers. Children attend with their parents, except for teenagers many of whom attend irregularly. With one exception, all members of nuclear families belong to the same church. With respect to seriousness of church affiliation, it might be noted that quite a few Round Lakers

reported having gone away to Bible school and/or church meetings.
There may be others that we did not discover.

Table 3.17
Church Membership: 1969-70¹

Church	Total No.	Number by Age Group						Sex		Group of Origin,				
		18-9	20-9	30-9	40-9	50		M	F	Weagamow	North Caribou	Big * Trout	Windigo **	Other
Pentecostal	35	2	3	11	9	9	15	20		19	4	3	8	1
Evangelical	55	10	13	10	12	10	25	30		20	23	1	9	2
Anglicans	71	4	26	10	8	23	31	40		37	17	2	2	3

Christian Religion and Native Religion: We did not attempt to gather evidence on Round Lakers' understanding of Christian doctrine (See Rogers page B. 39-40). Thus we can say nothing, from a Christian's point of view, regarding their status as "good Christians". However, from an Indian point of view, we may be able to add to Rogers' material on how Christian notions have entered and altered the old belief system, especially with regard to the concepts of "power" and "respect".²

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- * Includes Big Trout, Sachego and Bearskin
**Includes Windigo and Fisher and Cat Lake
 - Rogers' description of the traditional beliefs ("religion") as learned from Round Lakers stands as given. We did not attempt to elicit this information in depth all over again. His material agrees very largely with similar data obtained by the present ethnologist from Ojibwa people from places to the south of Round Lake. Also, regarding the amalgam of Christian with native beliefs, our Round Lake material agrees substantially with Rogers.

At the core of the old belief system was the concept of 'power'; its corollary behavioral rule is usually given in English as 'respect'. These words are placed in single quotation marks to indicate that they stand for Ojibwa concepts for which they are the best English labels available. Ojibwa words are being omitted from this report as much as possible. 'Powers' resided within the individual, as Rogers states, and were known to exist only through, or after, their demonstration by the individual. 'Powers' were specific in that each individual could receive a particular 'power' from the spirits who had appeared to him in his dreams. A current Round Lake informant, for example, said that he had the 'power' to know when people were not telling the truth. On the other hand, individuals known to have a great deal of 'power' were especially 'respected' in any situation for it was not known for certain what kind of additional 'powers' they might control. Thus in everyday experience 'power' could be undifferentiated and the question of how much 'power' could take precedence. For example, an individual who had demonstrated his 'power' to cure an illness, showing that he had superior 'power' to one whose 'power' had caused the illness, became himself an object of uncommon 'respect' in the behavior of those around him.

The concept of 'respect' was not so much a state of mind or attitude as a rule of behavior. It can be rendered in English 'treat with respect' -- in essence a warning not to offend any

creature or element which may have the power to harm you. "Don't get him angry at you" is implied by the term 'respect'. Indians have in fact been heard to say this about game animals, fish spirits, winds, thunder spirits and old medicine men, to mention only a few. For power was possessed not only by human beings but by all 'living things' in some degree -- and most of the natural world was seen as 'living'.¹ Thus, under the old belief system the safest policy was to act with respect toward all things encountered, unless one was rather certain that one's own power exceeded that of the other. On the other hand, powerful medicine men went about 'trying to get angry'. But the ordinary citizen took precautions not to offend. It is interesting that one of the Christian precepts given Rogers at Round Lake was that "a good Christian should never show anger" (1962: D40).

The opposite of acting with 'respect' is often given in English as 'make fun of' or 'tease'. Work was done with Round Lake bilinguals to determine the range of meaning of the Ojibwa statements which were rendered in English as 'respect' and 'make fun of' since these two expressions were heard repeatedly. We were told, for example, that the Chief meant "do not make play of it but treat it seriously" when he told the children to 'respect' and not 'make fun of' certain important things at Round Lake. He employed the same Ojibwa words

1. We state elsewhere in this report Round Lakers' responses as to what they include as 'living things'.

as are used in talking about the old belief system just described.

That power could be seen as a quantity, undifferentiated as to kind, has been somewhat altered in its present-day combination with Christian teachings. Today, informants speak of "evil power" as opposed to the "good" one receives from accepting the Lord. All powers received from a non-Christian source (i.e. dreams) are all said to be evil powers, although the informant was inconsistent in specific cases. Even if the person used his Indian power for doing good, such as curing, he is seen as working for the Devil and is only trying to get people to follow him, trying to control people. It is like the Devil tempting you, offering what looks nice, but with evil intent. Bilinguals consistently translated the Ojibwa word for the old 'power' as "bad power" or "doing bad", including those young people who had little knowledge of the old belief system as far as could be determined. The word simply meant something "bad" to them.

Our conclusion from this semantic work at Round Lake is that the current definition of 'power' as employed in the old Indian system refers to "doing bad things by witchcraft". The current definition of 'respect' is to treat the object with seriousness and not "fool around with it", but this may not any longer mean that one lives in constant fear of fatal consequences.

Other new material from Round Lake showing the amalgam of Christian and native elements includes a number of legends told by

Round Lakers which give a Christianized twist or explanation to mythical events from pre-Christian times. This is not an unusual finding. The notable aspect at Round Lake was that the storytellers frequently pointed out the Christianized elements or episodes in the story. The story itself, in fact, sometimes included the conversion of the mythical character. For example, up to the time that ^VCahkabes was swallowed by the whale, he was a fairly naughty young man who went about in the woods with his bow and arrow and specialized in disobeying his sister's orders. It is said that after he was swallowed by the whale and subsequently released by his sister, he from that time onward followed the Lord who protected him from such disasters in the future. Also he had discovered his true name -- which was "Jonah". Other cases of story tellers providing Christian explanations are documented in the collection of legends and accounts tape recorded at Round Lake during the period of the study.

Where amalgamation of native and Christian notions is not possible, some vacillation and indecision is still evident. Also, we believe some native notions were revealed to us due to an unawareness that the current belief system contains elements of each.

"Nativistic Movements": Although knowledge of the Indian belief system is more widespread among Round Lakers than was first revealed, there was never found any indication of counter-acculturative religious movements or of individuals claiming non-

conversion to Christianity. Such claims are fairly frequent among Ojibwa people elsewhere, to the extent that in some places they resemble genuine "nativistic movements".¹ A discreet attempt was made to discover Round Lakers' knowledge and appraisal of these nativistic phenomena. While denying any use of "bad power" (non-Christian) in Round Lake except in the very distant past, informants recalled such powers elsewhere -- generally in neighboring settlements rather than in southern Ontario or northern United States. A few Round Lakers had heard that Indian religion was still practiced down south. Their outward reaction was one of head-shaking disbelief or disapproval and a certain amount of curiosity. One man stated he did not like to hear other Indians talk of 'powers'. It made him uncomfortable as he did not believe that any more. Another older man, who had been a medicine man himself in his past, refused to discuss the past at all, saying the missionaries taught him he could follow only one way.

Two props were used to stimulate response. The first was a current newspaper clipping from Minnesota about a double funeral which had been held for an old-time Indian. One Christian and one Ojibwa service had been performed, the latter by a present-day medicine man. The story both described and displayed an equal

1. This term refers to renewed interest in traditional ways by people who are being culturally engulfed by a larger society. It is one type of counter measure to the felt cultural loss (See Wallace 1962, for this and for the notion of "cultural abandonment").

respect for both ways. This story, by all appearances, was greeted with interest and surprise at Round Lake. The ethnologist then described a purely Indian funeral she had attended and was asked questions which showed an ignorance of the conduct of such funerals. Round Lake people up to fifty years old recall that in the past when a burial had to take place without church or minister someone "read the Bible". Apparently a funeral without a Christian Bible was unknown to this age group. They suggested on several occasions that certain elderly people at Round Lake might recall the time before the Bible.

The ethnologist also had a tape recording of Indian singing, drumming, preaching and storytelling from Minnesota. No Round Laker heard it without discomfort of some kind, although the young people seemed to find it somewhat amusing. Most hearers said they had never heard such singing and though they understood the dialect of the sermon they grasped the message only partially.¹ There is currently no Indian dancing, singing or drumming at Round Lake. The oldest woman there recalled some dancing from her girlhood and she demonstrated a "square-dancing" style, not at all resembling the dances Indians preserve as their own elsewhere. The Indian past in Round Lake area may of course have contained quite different elements of this type. For example, very little

1. It concerned offerings of tobacco to all living things.

was said of tobacco offerings, although they occur in a few stories without explanation. Drumming was never spoken of except in connection with witchcraft and the exercise of bad powers. Native singing probably is in the same category. The only present-day singing by the people of Round Lake is that of Christian hymns.

Of course, it is not possible to know people's thoughts as they heard the tape or read the newspaper story. Only a small sample of Round Lakers actually heard the tape and none of the very elderly. It appeared, however, to have a somewhat disturbing effect on some who did hear it. The oldest people who heard it, about sixty years of age, appeared to understand and were stimulated to tell stories of their own but made no direct comment on the taped material. Those between thirty and fifty years of age revealed little reaction, did not wish to hear it through to the end but responded later with questions intended to elicit some of the ethnologist's knowledge of these Indian traditions. It may be that the terminology and the dialect of the Minnesota speakers was sufficiently unfamiliar to contribute to their confusion. The youngest group could understand neither the dialect nor the content as well as their elders did, but showed more direct and active interest. Their response to the songs was laughter, not necessarily an indication that the stimulus was funny, and they claimed to understand very little of the speech. However, teenagers later gave the information that Round Lake people have a

word for the kind of singing on the Minnesota tape. It is called 'bad (or evil) songs', because the singer might be singing about someone (i.e. doing witchcraft). This is of interest, since nearly all adults who heard the tape claimed never to have heard such singing before and let it go at that.

In all, there was convincing evidence of a defensiveness on the part of some listeners. Yet some showed a personal unfamiliarity with the content that was also convincing. In any case, it did not have the effect of stimulating knowledgeable listeners to tell of Round Lakers' native religion and perhaps compare it with that of Minnesota Ojibwa. The salient point of comparison was surely that the Minnesota material was current and open, not something vaguely remembered by old people from a distant past or, if carried on more recently, only at a sub rosa and largely disapproved level.

Differential Knowledge of Native Religion: There were indications of a decided differential among Round Lakers in the degree or amount of their actual knowledge of past religious traditions. Little observable behavior could be positively identified as directly stemming from those traditions. Evidence can never be decisive of course as to what beliefs people carry around "in their heads" which "influence their behavior". Behavior may, in fact, be based on habit patterns long dissociated from explicitly held beliefs. And any given act is "influenced by" a complex combination of stimuli which are present at the particular

time. Yet it would be of interest to know something about how much of the behavior of Round Lakers is influenced by beliefs which are of a nature foreign to Euro-Canadians.

While the relationship between belief and behavior could not be measured totally or decisively, a limited attempt was made to sample the knowledge or lack of knowledge about such beliefs and the behavior (including verbal) which might not have occurred without such a background or heritage of beliefs. Lack of knowledge is difficult to establish with certainty for it may be deliberately withheld or suppressed. Therefore, efforts were directed toward semi-controlled situations where positive knowledge might be revealed. It must be kept in mind, however, that both reasons for negative response -- lack of knowledge or withholding knowledge -- weigh on the side of cultural abandonment.

A description of the types of situations used in these studies and the types of data obtained in each instance follows. Detailed results cannot be provided here. Some of the studies were documented in considerable detail and in a standardized form across a sample of thirty or more persons. Others received only incidental or opportunistic study. In the types of situations listed, informants gave evidence regarding their knowledgeability or willingness to talk about acquisition of 'powers', use of witchcraft, magical rites, talk taboos and other forms of 'respect', mythologically 'living' creatures and natural elements and personalistic causation of events.

Telling and Hearing of Legends: Besides the direct recording of 145 stories from 27 Round Lake storytellers (ages 12-85), information was sought as widely as possible as to whether and from whom Round Lakers of all ages had heard stories and whether and to whom they are or were in the habit of telling stories. It appears that at all age levels there are those who do and those who don't. Grandparents of both sexes are the most frequent source; however, parents also are mentioned.¹ Storytelling is clearly not taking place to the extent that it did in the distant past, when it is said that a teller could recount his tales almost continuously for several days. It was probably always a kind of specialization. Even in the recalled past, several of Round Lake's older people named the same individual and this must extend back a generation, for those in their twenties and thirties appeared either to have heard stories the least or were the most guarded in admitting it. Children and the young bilinguals who helped with the translations often were hearing the stories for the first time from the tape or during the taping if they were present. In several cases, it was their own grandmother who had taped the stories. One storyteller preferred that the young people leave before he recorded his stories.

1. A trio of a grandmother, her daughter and her granddaughter were present at the grandmother's recording; the teller's daughter had never heard the stories, the granddaughter had.

Other youngsters, however, could recount stories which they had recently heard told. It appears that fewer and fewer families are engaging in this activity; yet it is possible that knowledge of the stories may now be increasing since children today show a real interest in reading collected English translations and they are receiving the news from outside that Indian traditions should not be allowed to die.

The stories collected at Round Lake consisted of 86 'legends' and 59 'accounts'. The former are myths; the latter tell of happenings that the storyteller himself observed or knew to have occurred. Both types probably functioned in the past as a means of teaching the young. The dividing line between the two types is in some cases rather hazy, for both can contain elements of the religious belief system and encounters with supernatural beings can be personal as well as mythological. Of the 'accounts', 22 had to do with such beings or with some element of the old belief system. There were also explanations involving 'long ago' beliefs to which the teller disclaimed adherence, e.g. 'The old people long ago believed that everything was living'. It should be pointed out that 'long ago' need not indicate a very great time depth for Round Lake speakers.

Native-Language Classifications of 'Living Things': A sample of 35 Round Lakers, representing all ages, both sexes, origin and language-use groups, gave their classification of the 'living'

habitat in the Ojibwa language. The semantic differences which occurred were most marked between older and younger groups, separating out those under 20. Complete results are being reported in a separate technical paper. Two major differences are relevant here: the classification of large game animals and large game birds and the inclusion of natural elements and religious mythological personages in the 'living things' category. On the whole, it was young people who lacked a special category for the game creatures and did not know the old meaning of the word which labels the class. It was also younger people who most consistently excluded from the 'living' category the sun, moon, winds, thunder, Windigos, Wisakežak, memegwesiwak and dream appearances. This suggests a changing semantic system and appears to be related to two items of the old belief system: that all things are living and that the game animals and birds are to be accorded special forms of 'respect'.

A final gambit was appended to this study in which all persons were asked what name they would give to a painting of a large stylized eagle-like bird on the cabin wall. If they gave pinesi, usually translated as 'thunder' at Round Lake, it was taken to indicate a connection between thunder and a bird form. Pinesi is the word for 'Thunderbird' in Minnesota Ojibwa and also for some Round Lakers. Few informants talked of Thunderbirds directly and some bilinguals knew the English but not the Ojibwa. Translators continued to write

'thunders' on stories the old people had told about thunderbirds. In the wallpainting test, about half of the informants revealed the connection; the division was not, though, significant according to age. This may be due to stories about Thunderbirds at school.

Reluctance to Speak: Reluctance to speak of the old ways has been mentioned. A few cases of evasion and actual refusal to give information were explained in interesting ways. Persons were said to be apprehensive about giving personal information to non-Indians as they thought their old ways of living were seen as inferior or bad. Or, they did not wish to speak about things they no longer believed. Or, they knew that talking of 'powers' especially to outsiders would reduce their own 'power'. All of these reasons might be evoked by the same individual at different times, showing a mixture of rejection and continuing belief. This kind of data was not sought but was noted when volunteered. Individuals were never pressed to talk and, unfortunately, it was never discovered which of the above explanations was nearest to the mark. There was probably some truth in each.

Explanations of Illnesses, Misfortunes, Deaths: It might have been feasible to press for causes of illnesses which occurred during residence at Round Lake. But this was done to a limited extent only, usually by asking the Indian word for the illness and how it would be spoken of. In two cases of mental illness which

occurred, the terms given were descriptive of "going out of one's head". They were not the expressions that would refer to "making her go crazy", indicating witchcraft causation, nor the special words for the kind of sickness caused by bad medicine. "Going crazy" was in the past often caused, it was thought, by bad medicine men, the victim engaging in types of psychotic behavior before dying. There is also a special term for the kind of crazy-ness caused by the shaking tent men and another for that caused by a Windigo or a person turned Windigo. None of these terms was volunteered about Round Lake illnesses, either for current cases or in accounts of the past. However, an account of an epidemic which nearly wiped out a summer settlement 50-60 years ago did not name the illness but laid the cause quite openly to 'witchcraft' performed by an old man from a neighboring place who had become angry.

No deaths or known serious accidents occurred during the period of the study at Round Lake. However, it was learned that a man who had died 5 or 6 years before had been thought by some to have been the victim of witchcraft. He himself had had 'powers' and was the hero of accounts of successful competitions with other 'strong' men and with Windigos. Several present and recently deceased Round Lakers were pointed out as having had such 'powers', but if current residents have this type of causation theories at hand for explaining present-day misfortunes they did not reveal them and were not pressed to do so.

One man reported that his trapping partner had shown disrespect for the beaver and had thereafter been unable to trap any. But he added that his partner, when hearing he had perhaps made the beavers angry at him laughed and said he knew about that but didn't believe in it.

Translators' Difficulties and Definitions: Much of the above material was given in the Indian language. Young bilinguals frequently acted as interpreters of conversations or translators of taped material. For some, there were occasions when they became confused, faltered and/or simply "didn't know" how to render in English what had been said. This occurred when the speaker was telling of 'powers', of the shaking tent rite and of the causes of the epidemics. The confusion seemed genuine and the claim was that they did not know all the Indian words used. Yet they could identify the expression which told them it was about witchcraft. The entire passage, however, "didn't make sense" to them. It seemed apparent they had not heard older people speak this way very often and had not ever ventured to clarify such portions of conversations or stories. Yet other youngsters could use this same 'witchcraft' expression in telling their own stories about bad powers. This difference may be due to variability among families in non-teaching of the old culture and/or among children in curiosity and questioning about it.

Bilinguals were sometimes asked for English definitions of words

or expressions already known to be sensitive in the old belief system. When the word for 'sickness caused by supernatural powers' (Rogers) was given, it was said to have exactly the same meaning as the everyday word for 'illness'. This was probably a genuine lack of knowledge on the part of an 18-year-old. Other such cases, and also words unfamiliar to informants and translators, were acquired.

Thus some of the young people working on this study appeared to be hearing and learning traditional Indian things for the first time. They sometimes made queries in order to learn more, either of the storyteller or of the ethnologist. One or two volunteered that their parents or grandparents had at times made allusions to some of these matters and then had stopped and indicated they did not wish to continue talking about the subject. They also recalled hearing legends and accounts, parts of which they did not understand. But these parts were not explained to them.

Children of an age still attending school (through Grade VIII) show signs of an active interest in the fact they are Indians. The school program provides material on the traditions and creations of many kinds of Indians and they receive instruction from visiting Indian artists, storytellers and others. There are books of Indian legends in the school library, as well as in the ethnologist's cabin, and some children in particular sought out this type of reading matter and became decidedly engrossed in it. Thus the

differential of knowledge is affected now by imported information as well as indigenous; this will be taken up in a later section.

Summary: Differential knowledge of the old belief system seems to correlate with age only in certain aspects. Diversity falls perhaps more along family or kin group lines than between age groups, although in general, ignoring single cases, the young people know less of the Indian traditions or ways of talking about them than do their elders. We cannot be sure, of course, whether this was not always the case. A major difficulty is that the diversity in willingness to talk cannot be separately measured. Our impression is that the oldest and the youngest groups were most willing to talk. The young (20-40) married couples were perhaps least willing although it may be that these individuals have the least knowledge or only a confused smattering. The middle age group (40-60) showed the strongest defenses, as well as the most vacillation. It may be they were the missionized generation, who strongly rejected Indian culture and brought up their children within their version of Euro-Canadian Christianity. This group also contains individuals most disturbed and undecided between old and new belief ~~systems~~ and sometimes anxious to talk about it once their reserve is overcome. They at first relegate all old beliefs to the ancient past stating that only old people may have heard of them from grandparents. Then they showed quite current adherence to the old beliefs.

There are exceptions, of course, within each age group and our sample did not cover the entire community. To project a personal assessment: in spite of seeming cultural abandonment and diversity among individuals in their interpretations of old or new beliefs, Round Lakers do not on the surface appear to be suffering more psychic strain than they can tolerate. It might be unfair to say that they are not an overly "religious" people -- although present commercial and technological interests seem sometimes to help sustain them. Certainly some of them displayed a need for a meaningful and consistent spiritual or theological base. It seems notable that individuals appear able to construct such a base for themselves out of the materials available. Feedback and consensus from other individuals does not appear to be necessary to them to the extent that it is in our own society. This impression accords with the known Ojibwa individualism, in which the need for open consensus or organized group observances was notable by its absence.¹

1. Although this is true, it is balanced by an opposite trend to have all concur in any joint activity that may be contemplated (E.S.R.).

CHAPTER 15

VALUES AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS

Introduction: It is generally thought that values and automatic psychological patterns of reaction and behavior are the most resistant to change. They also operate at the largely unconscious level where their disparity from prevailing patterns can cause interference or breakdown of communication of a type most difficult to control or plan for. This section will give an interpretation of some traditional Ojibwa values and behavioral patterns and will examine whether these may be useful in our understanding of current Indian-Euro-Canadian interaction as well as intra-Indian relations. It will also state what we believe to be some of the values of Round Lake Indians today.

Values are not objectively observable phenomena. They can only be inferred by the observer from all that he has seen and heard. The frame of reference is that of the observer and when reporting about an alien culture he simply aims to make the life of those people intelligible and meaningful to his own people. Values are part of a code which enables those who share it to understand each other's messages, both verbal and non-verbal. When we talk about a code, we must use our own code in order to communicate any information.

In the last section we placed the word "religion" in quotation marks when speaking of the traditional Indian system and we preferred the term belief system which could pull together all the different areas of life which the native religion encompassed. Beliefs have somewhat the same nature as values as described above.

Belief systems are knowledge systems, in that they consist of what is believed to be true about the world combined in some non-contradictory way. A value system consists of beliefs about what is good or bad, valuable or worthless, right or wrong, desirable or undesirable. People sometimes make explicit statements about these but mostly they must be inferred from all sorts of acts and statements if they are to be useful in decoding meaning and in correctly anticipating reactions.

The following description of the systematic nature of traditional Ojibwa values and beliefs was inferred from our combined 10-12 years of work and experience with Ojibwa people. Inference of current values and residual behavior was from work of the past two years with Round Lake people.

Traditional Ojibwa Values, Beliefs and Behaviors: In the Value System of the Ojibwa, the greatest good for the individual was to have received from his spirit helpers sufficient 'powers' so as to have the skill and abilities for a long and successful life. This included the means for avoiding misfortunes -- that is, for avoiding control by others. With regard to 'power', persons, creatures or elements were not differentiated in a view of the world in which all natural things are "living" and all events purposeful. Any event could thus be interpreted as caused by the willful act of another signifying that he had been offended and had become angry. All creatures, no matter how small, had their share

of 'power' so that people were even warned not to let the mosquitoes fly away angry at them. There is a legend of a person who 'teased' mosquitoes by collecting them in a jar in the summer and releasing them into the cold when winter came. This person was so bothered by mosquitoes next summer that he died of their attacks. It goes without saying that greater creatures had even more obvious power to control one's life, especially those upon which one depended for one's subsistence, like the game animals or those which could strike fatally without warning, like the thunders.

Only human beings, among all natural living things, were thought to be born without inherent powers from the Creator. Human beings received their powers in dreams when their spirit helper appeared to tell them what their position in life would be, usually during a period of several days sleep. In Minnesota this is called 'fasting', at Round Lake it was termed 'dreaming'. In either case the person, usually a young man, goes for several days without food. From then on the person took care to remain on good terms with his spirit helper by making offerings of tobacco and food and maintaining a respectful attitude. The powers received in the dreams may remain hidden for many years and it was only after their successful demonstration that the individual won his share of prestige and 'respect'. Powers were usually specific abilities, big or small, such as the power to know when a man is not telling the truth, the power to stand on the water when the

canoe overturns or the power to affect objects or persons at a distance, including the ability to cure or to kill. A person was best advised not to speak about his powers nor to perform them when others were watching, for this would diminish their strength. Other persons learned of the power through their observation and interpretation of events and their conclusions as to who had caused them. The practitioner who did curing, killing or devining for others was of course identified as far as his clients were concerned. The divining involved the power to foretell the future or to find out about distant occurrences as well as to identify the cause or causes of misfortunes. This is what is popularly known in English as the "shaking tent" rite and individuals with a reputation for this power were thought also to be able to cause death at a distance.

It can be seen that powers could be used for either helpful or harmful purposes and in the case of the stronger powers were the basis for a generalized caution in inter-personal encounters. 'Respect' was accorded, especially to individuals or creatures who were known or thought to have a considerable amount of power. But since all living things possessed some degree of power and human beings did not advertise powers which might be dormant, it was safest to respect all living things. "Respect" referred to the handling of interactions and consisted of behaviors designed not to offend. In the case of those with a reputation for witchcraft,

people were warned not to make them angry. This was said at Round Lake within the last half-dozen years about an old man from Sandy Lake who came to visit.

It can be seen that a positive value accruing from these beliefs is that it is good to maintain pleasant non-abrasive face-to-face relations with all people. Only a very strong medicine man could afford to show anger and when he did it was a deliberate threat and a reminder that he controlled the fate of the other. Verbal threats did occur which would seem to violate the value just stated. It was said that such threats from powerless, loose-talking persons were simply laughed at. From a usually self-disciplined and verbally careful person, it meant a challenge of powers. This applied to threats delivered to other human beings or to animals or elements. The threatener was risking retaliation and defeat in a power game that has its resemblance to poker or perhaps to playing the stock market, for power ratings fluctuated daily in response to the gambits of the players. Each encounter was a mutual assessment of current power status. As Hallowell put it "in every encounter it was a question of, is he more powerful than I, or am I more powerful than he" and the answer could only be decided by the outcome of a challenge. The game must have taken place all along the range of the power hierarchy but it was among those reputed to be the day's strongest medicine men that it had its potency and relevance for leadership. Many stories describe

contests of strength between two such medicine men, the outcome revealing which of them had misgaged his relative power. Thus, the powerful old men frequently died of witchcraft causes.

For most other persons, the best and safest everyday behaviors were those in which one made no overt attempt to control other people. This included not contradicting, arguing or giving orders directly to other people. It extended to a reluctance to make direct requests and even to ask direct questions. Information or favors were best obtained through indirect channels or by means of talk and acts of the nature of suggestions or hinting. In this type of interaction, the other person is given the option of defining the situation, deciding whether or not a question is being asked or a favor requested and can respond accordingly.

'Respectful' behavior included, as we have seen, taking care not to 'make fun of' or 'tease' except in prescribed situations. This means that serious things were not to be treated lightly or played with since that might be taken as an insult. When discussing the rule not to speak disrespectfully about powerful things, we were told that the most respectful kind of talk is no talk at all -- in other words, the valued behavior here is silence and particularly avoidance of certain subjects.¹

1. It was said in Minnesota that a woman carelessly speaking about thunderbirds was the cause of a dangerous storm which arose. Another made a foolhardy threat about her power to control the weather, and her own husband was caught in the resulting storm rather than the one threatened.

Related to the general rule of not controlling the behavior of others, at least overtly, is the Ojibwa characteristic which has often been labelled individualism. Proper behavior requires non-interference in the affairs of others, non-criticism of the acts of others and non-contradiction of others' opinions or statements of fact. There is also a reluctance to speak for others or about them. "I'll tell you what I think, but others may think differently," was frequently stated to the ethnologist during field work and was accompanied by a lack of concern over whether information given by several different people might be inconsistent.¹ Older people especially did not seem to mind giving a largely idiosyncratic classification of 'living things' nor the fact that the words with which they labelled the categories differed from those given by other informants. One might say again that the need for consensus was not as strongly felt as it is with us.²

There was seemingly a high degree of tolerance for individual deviance in actual behavior; leeway around accepted rules was great and even private disapproval found little direct outlet. If the deviance became too great, direct interference was still avoided but the offender felt the pressure through "ostracism" as discussed

1. This is characteristic of Indian responses (E.S.R.).

2. Yet when it is a matter affecting the group, any action to be taken must be agreed to unanimously (E.S.R.).

in a previous section. The value placed on independence and individual autonomy, especially as displayed in direct interactions, seems then a part of their system of behavior.

Also related to the rule against displaying one's control over others is evidence of a distaste for overt competition, factional dispute or personal aggrandisement within the community or group. To advertise a desire for power of this kind -- which could occur only at the obvious expense of those who stand to lose -- was inappropriate behavior. It amounted to causing misfortunes for others. Competition, after all, means a situation where if one person wins others by definition lose. When most of life was literally a struggle for survival with all of nature, both human and non-human, people must have been keenly aware of the consequences of losing. One didn't openly or lightly cause or threaten to cause that consequence for others.¹

A key to the attitude toward competition and power-plays as such was revealed in the classification by Minnesota Indians of "success charms" as 'bad medicine'. Medicines existed for success in love, in gambling, in hunting -- and even in running fast. These were "bad" because they controlled another against his will and, moreover, they

1. Although the phrase "struggle for survival" has been used it should be borne in mind that this is an Euro-Canadian conception and although life was difficult for the Indians they considered that they were a part of nature rather than in competition with nature. (E.S.R.)

were effective not through increasing one's own ability but by diminishing that of one's opponent. 'Running potion' was put on other runners' legs to slow their performance. Hunting medicine caused the animal to allow itself to be shot. Love medicine weakened the will of the object and it was often used "to get even". In fact "getting even" by witchcraft is clearly the prescribed setting for competitive behavior -- i.e. at a distance, not face to face. In the examples given, the basic competitive situation is seen badly. One may win because of skill or because of the other's lack of it . . . it amounts to the same thing, either way. Competition was thus carried on discreetly, not at the open market place before a crowd, if one did not want to risk getting powerful people angry or being labelled as one who boasted of strong powers.

A positive related value was based on outward modesty and moderation, not overselling oneself -- neither asking for nor boasting about excessive powers. The spirits could be insulted if a human being claimed, for example, that he could control the weather. One's powers were safer and stronger if hidden when not in use. People were convinced by actions -- by consequences -- not by words.

The central theme of the value/belief system just described seems to have been that it is good to maintain a maximum control over one's own life and as much independence as possible from

control by the ecological environment -- the social and physical world. Those with the greatest power to control their own fate were placed highest on the scale of respect. This scale extended to all living things, human, animal and supernatural. It was said that when the non-Indians first came they were placed among the highest beings on the scale, for it was seen that their control of the environment was superior to that of any human being. The 'respect' accorded to them had the magnitude of that given to the powerful spirits, with the attendant fear of offending by not conforming to the appropriate behavioral rules.

Not all Ojibwa values or beliefs are contained within this system. Values revolving around house and residence were given in an earlier section, for example. However, the rules of this system are quite pervasive. They can be seen to have affected economic ideas of ownership of property and business competition, political ideas of leadership and factionalism, social ideas of group organizations, the manner of household operation and discipline and the training of the young as will be discussed in a future section, as well as "religious" matters of spiritual guidance and supernatural belief. The importance of this belief system also lies in the fact that it contained elements which are the most changed today -- denied or discarded by the modern Ojibwa people yet reflecting underlying values and behaviors that may persist in some form.

Current Applications and Residues: The foregoing description of the traditional belief/value system contains some current material. This was unavoidable, since it was inferred from current observation as well as from elicitation of facts about the past, both carried out over the past ten or twelve years. Further current observations, taken from the period of residence at Round Lake, may illuminate parts of the system still operative there. We concentrate here, not on whether specific beliefs and practices are retained, but on possible persistence of underlying values and patterns of behavior.

We extract the following values from the system just described: positive powers for survival and success (to have the skills for a long and successful life); individual autonomy, independence, self-sufficiency (to be free of control by others and by the environment); pleasant face -to-face relations (lack of open discord); and modesty and moderation (avoidance of open competition, factional dispute, personal boasting and self aggrandisement).

The rules for attaining these value-goals have been described as they were operative in former times. This involved certain beliefs and behaviors about supernatural or magical powers and beings. They also prescribed some general rules of behavior and these are such as would have similar effects in the absence of the particular belief. The rules to which we refer are especially directed at inter-personal encounters and inter-actions, public

displays and performances, talking and not-talking and avoidances of danger. We will repeat here only the rules that appear to regulate or influence some current Indian behaviors, referring to the relevant field observations. It should be kept in mind that the "influence" may very well be by way of persisting behavioral patterns transmitted to subsequent generations without explicit teaching or awareness of the relation to the general values and old beliefs as inferred above.

One rule in maintaining good face-to-face relations, and also individual autonomy, was that against contradicting, criticizing or arguing with others. Another more general rule was to treat with respect, not offend, any others who might have the power to harm one or to withhold or retract favors. These may be continuing behavioral attitudes of Indians at Round Lake to some degree, especially toward the non-Indians. A few Round Lakers have been out and have seen Indians speaking up and talking back, as they are beginning to do today politically, but most of the population follows the more traditional way. A recent Indian publication carried a story with the following line: "Because the white man brought us everything, we thought we must agree with him -- otherwise he might do bad to us."¹ This recalls rather vividly that some Indians saw the first Europeans as powerful spirits who could

1. Read on C.B.C. program 17 July, 1970.

control and who provided endless goods. It is a statement that might have been made about one's spirit helpers who gave Indians 'powers' and who were subsequently treated with a great deal of 'respect'. One of the legends told us at Round Lake dealt with an Indian boy, son of the first legendary leader of the Round Lake people, who was the step-brother of a non-Indian boy. When the latter left, they made arrangements to meet later. Their subsequent meeting is described as follows:

When the white lady left him, she took her own son too. And the white lady's son knew where he could see his brother Eniwa.bebin. And the white lady's son said to him, "Go over on the other side of the Island, there is a nice sandy shore there. I'll come and visit you there", he said to his brother. And in the middle of the summer, when it was very calm, he went on the other side of the island, to meet his brother. He lay on the shore for a while. Later he looked up in the sky; there he saw his brother coming. He was coming from the sky. As he was lying on the shore his brother came closer, and he landed in the bush. He looked like a white man. They shook hands. He was very glad to see him. And his white man brother had nothing in his hands, but later he saw a lot of merchandise beside him. He brought him everything, such as caribou skins, cigarettes (asema.k), and tea. They stayed with each other all day. Nobody was there to watch them, he was alone in his birchbark canoe.

And then his brother was ready to go. He had brought him everything. And they made a date, that they would meet each other again next year, the same day. He promised him, he would come and visit him, the next year. And he watched his brother going up to the sky again. First they had supper, and then they went home. He had brought him a lot of supplies, for him to use all winter.

And he built a house there, because his brother promised to visit him again.

It appears that non-Indians were seen both as spirits who provided goods and later as the most powerful of human beings. Both of these categories were accorded top-level respect in the old

system. Recall also that Indians were said to be very much afraid at first of Europeans, especially of the government and its laws which they recognized as a potentially controlling force in their lives and thus feared to offend without quite knowing the precise nature of either legal, moral or social offences as defined by the non-Indians. The effort to learn what was in the non-Indians' minds, coupled with the rule to "agree with" others, especially powerful personages, may account in part for what appears today to be a loss by the Round Lake Ojibwa of their old traditions and beliefs. And it may account for their apparent "buying" of the image of themselves that Europeans have communicated to them. Their degree of cultural abandonment due to drastic disvaluing of many of their Indian traditions will be discussed in the next section. But indeed, it is said that Indians are now "buying" the newer self-image which they read in the reactions of the greater society to them. The news has only begun reaching Round Lake that Indians have "lost their identity" and subsequently their integrity, their reliability, their motivation for living and producing. When this image of the Indian has been fully understood by the Round Lakers, they must "buy" it too but they have not done so as yet.¹

A word should be said about observed reactions to violations

1. This is an extremely important point that must be constantly kept in mind. The Round Lake Ojibwa today much more than ever are being influenced not only by Euro-Canadians but also by thoughts and actions of Indians to the south who have become politically active (E.S.R.).

of the rule which says not to contradict or criticize. It appeared that at times when Round Lakers found themselves criticized, put down, rebuffed or contradicted, they reacted by withdrawing into a rather stubborn silence. This included children who must have been learning some of the non-Indians' ways through instruction at the government school. But clearly they had also been learning the Indian way when not in the school rooms. This will be discussed further in the last section on education and the future.

The rules which had to do with not interfering in the affairs of others and not openly trying to control the behavior of others appears to account for some further Round Lake observations.

Talking behavior is in many respects different between Indians and most Euro-Canadians. Round Lakers still showed a reluctance or refusal to speak about the affairs of others (vide Rogers 1962: 4), generally responding "I don't know" to any inquiries. The use of "I don't know" when they did not wish to answer a question for any reason is still very common, even among children who have school training in the direct question-response manner of inquiry. When a factual answer is given, it is very often preceded by "I think" or "maybe", though the information may be certain and specific. Interpreters also made use of this opening -- as if not to commit themselves completely on their rendering into English -- but also sometimes as a direct interpreting of the speaker who had opened each of his statements in this manner. Neither "maybe" nor "I

don't know" are face-value utterances in most of their occurrences, but rather are opening procedures in information-transfer situations which are not expected to get to the point on the first exchange. As has been described earlier, making requests, asking questions or giving commands are behavior-controlling acts and when done bluntly they may stimulate quite delayed responses, if not, indeed, refusal to respond. The absolutely blank "lack of response" of which Indians are capable under these circumstances, and also when not certain which way the danger lies, is sometimes quite demoralizing to Euro-Canadians who are trained to be super-dependent on feedback. The blank expression of course is feed-back if one knows its meaning. It is probably also quite automatic and not done deliberately. Remember that in the power belief system, silence was considered the most "respectful" way to treat some subjects in order to be certain not to cause anger. Silence is not a lack of response, it is a kind of response. Only our own system finds it intolerable and prefers a tirade -- or a lie -- to a controlled and poker-faced silence. Indian children and their elders have probably learned that "I don't know" arouses our anger less than no answer at all.

Refusal to speak on behalf of others has also been mentioned. Informants made it clear their information might not represent Round Lake consensus. "For myself, I think . . ." was heard frequently, even from the Chief in discussing community attitudes. There appears to be tremendous acceptance of internal diversity,

sometimes to the point of absurdity or non-communication as, for example, the variation in linguistic forms and semantic rules.¹ Perhaps they choose to risk a lowering of communication rather than interferences with each other's "thing". As mentioned before, the need for consensus is less apparent than with us.² The value placed on individual autonomy may help explain this weighting.

Round Lakers also are relatively silent on the subject of their own abilities and do not push themselves forward or boast. Powers are not demonstrated by talking but by doing. Whether there is still a notion that the powers will be weakened by talking about them is not known, but probably so in the case of a few older people. In general, the reliability of the word is far less potent than that of a pattern of accomplished behavior. The ethnologist's saying she would return on a certain date did not prevent surprise when she did come back and at the final departure the statement about not returning did not prevent the repeated question, "When are you coming back?" The pattern had finally become established. The same thing occurred over the pattern of working hours, both in Minnesota and Round Lake. All the talk in the world did not change expectations based on experienced patterns.

1. *Paper . . . 1970 C.S.A.A., Winnipeg.

2. This is true only to the extent that total community or group action is not needed (E.S.R.).

Only the changed actions themselves could alter future expectations. One feels that talk and non-talk have the function of phatic communication more preponderantly in Indian culture than in our own. That is, the factual content is less important than other features of verbal exchanges. And what a person will do or is capable of doing is known by his accomplishment not by his talking about it.

Not boasting or pushing oneself forward also follows the rules by which discord and conflict are to be avoided and is related to the attitude toward and behavioral reactions to competition. In an earlier section, we noted a rejection of the idea of competition in respect to the stores. Also, the new church disclaimed any desire to take members from other churches. An open split in the community was, however, deplored by others. There was, therefore, evidence that the ideas of competition and factional dispute are still disvalued.

Round Lakers appear to define "competition" as "being against" something and see it as a wholly negative behavioral thing. They appeared to lack a concept of what we might term natural competition, where the forces are not opposing each other but simply partaking from the same source. Competition to the Indian means "doing someone in" or trying to. This is supported by the translation of stories where the villain was said to be trying to "win" his opponent. The translator was persuaded she meant "defeat";

in the stories the man who wished to "win" another was nearly always seeking the death of the other person.

Accounts of medicine men who went around "trying to get angry" show clearly that their object was to defeat someone, "do them in". The phrase "trying to get angry" always signifies this type of evil intent. The current Round Lake dictum that "a good Christian should never show anger" (Rogers 1962: D40) reinforces the present-day disvaluing of situations in which one person advertises that he wishes to defeat another, i.e. competition.

In summation, it might be said with regard to the desire for autonomy and personal success coupled with the negative evaluation of competition, that a person wants to succeed but not at the obvious expense of others. He wishes to show his positive abilities by doing the job, not talking about it, but avoids looking or thinking as though he is trying to defeat another.

The fact that the most complete statement against competition was in reference to starting a store in a community where there was a Hudson's Bay Company store, adds yet another dimension to the argument. For it emphasized that "you can't be against such a big company", and, we might add, one run by Euro-Canadians. To announce that you are out to defeat anyone is poor judgment; to announce that you are out to defeat a very powerful one would be like asking to be struck down immediately with a bolt of lightning. And it would be the opposite of acting with 'respect'. Of course

no one expects another store to defeat the Hudson's Bay Company and if competition is correctly defined as trying to defeat another, then it is the English usage which is ambiguous. The Indian is consistent in holding that competition is by definition a situation in which one wins and another loses. This type of situation appears to be evaluated negatively by the Indians at Round Lake.

Additional Modern Values and Behaviors: A few additional evaluations seemed evident on the part of Round Lake people during the current study period. From the material in the first section on the seasonally changing economic activities, and in the second section on residence patterns, we could conclude that Round Lakers put a high premium on keeping busy and being on the move. While these are characteristics of the past, they could hardly be seen as values when their execution was of the utmost necessity for survival. Today, the general impression at Round Lake is of a preference for finding types of employment or work that will fill in a continuous sequence of activities. A continuation of the pattern of the yearly round is still followed for a livelihood and for social reasons by the greater proportion of Round Lake families and they seem quite able to insert new types of employment, both in the village and away from it, into the old routine, and in some cases actively seek tasks to fill in vacant parts of the schedule. While desire for more income may be an important motivation, there is a general busyness and filling in of time that seems almost to

be desired for its own sake. It would look as though a highly evaluated person is one who keeps busy whether he profits by it or not. An older man told an account of how hard and happily he worked in the past. It was felt that he was wishing to instill in his young son a valuing of work for the satisfaction of it. The core of "active" men in the village showed all appearances of taking pleasure in the accomplishment of their jobs, and many sought out additional work when free, including self-employed services for others. And it should be noted that not all of the activities were paying ones.

Individual attitudes vary, of course, as to the value of work and the reluctance to talk about others makes difficult a study to determine which individuals were most highly evaluated by their fellows. There may be an incipient social stratification developing, whether based on ownership of material goods, superior abilities in traditional and/or modern tasks, kinship ties or whatever. This again is difficult to get information about and possibly would be worth a specialized study. The eagerness for work may or may not be connected with a desire to win the approval of others but it appeared in many observed cases to represent some intrinsic satisfaction and perhaps self approval. The value may be simply in filling in of time productively; certainly when potential informants stopped by to announce that they had two days before beginning their next activity, they had not learned yet whether the informant work would be intrinsically satisfying.

Part of the satisfaction in the round of successive activities lies in the fact of being physically on the move -- again a necessity in the old days and part of the habit and expectation pattern now. In this respect village life is thought to be confining by some, who can recall greater freedom of physical movement, especially for entire families. The residual "nomadism" has been described in an earlier section, including the positive evaluation of frequent moves. Part of the "busyness" in the village today consists of preparations and planning which must precede the moves that still occur. Some of these, at least, are not strictly necessary at the present time. Even when staying in the village, people are outside a good deal. Much living, including domestic tasks, is done outside the house. Freedom to leave the house when one pleases is highly desirable and confinement hard to bear, especially for younger males. But even the old people walk around the village a good deal.

Round Lake people are not yet heard decrying the loss of Indian culture, as is the case in some Indian communities. They appear to be oriented toward the future and eager to make preparations for it. Also, they appear to be satisfied with the present, on the whole, and with the changes that have taken place in their lives. This may not be true of all individuals and it may not reflect some of their deeper feelings but it was the major image communicated to the ethnologist.

The Indian culture, for Round Lake, is not so very far past, and parts of it are, of course, still continuing. Subsistence, technology and residence habits are still clearly in mind and in operation to some degree, as has been described. There are other features of the old life which appear to have been totally discarded, however, and when spoken of today either are denied or treated defensively. We have reported a negative evaluation of past religious beliefs and practices and also of household patterns. Some kinship patterns are also disvalued. These attitudes are apparently engendered by a desire to agree with the values of members of the non-Indian society whom they have encountered. Rogers in 1958-9 also found these disvalues and rejections of some of the former ways of living. Others who have asked about the past in the intervening years have also received reluctant responses to questions about Indian traditions. Yet there are few visible signs at present that this apparent instance of cultural loss or cultural abandonment is felt as such by most of the Round Lake people. It would be useless and perhaps harmful to speculate as to why this is so or to predict future reversals. They are in many ways much closer to that rejected past than would appear on superficial observation and perhaps the rejection itself is not very deep. The repeated statement that "no one here" believes that any more -- but maybe some do at nearby settlements or did until about two years ago -- places it rather close in both time and location. And as

we have said, refusal to talk could represent rejection or could be a continuation of the old talk taboo. The latter reason was explicitly given in 1965 by an Indian in Minnesota.

We tried to assess current adherence at Round Lake without being instrumental in rekindling beliefs which may not have been buried very deep. The negative evaluation of the past did not seem merely a show put on to please or distract the Euro-Canadian audience. There was clear evidence of non-transmission to the coming generation, as well as, a sometimes self-denial which pointed to vacillation and ambivalence in some persons. To date, however, the desire to change appears to have been largely successful. It remains to be seen what effect there will be when increased contact with the modern world reveals to Round Lakers that Indian traditions are being both respected and revived or continued in other areas. This is already occurring through the school and villagers who emigrate or visit outside. Young people's response will be considered in the final section on education and the future.

It is hard sometimes to reconcile the "progressive" side of Round Laker's present adjustment with their degree of conservatism on matters of government "Indian policy" and of western education for their youth. It does not appear to be "Indianness" they are guarding. Rather, a somewhat precarious balance has resulted, perhaps, from their deliberate abandonment and devaluation of the structure of past beliefs. At Round Lake such "cultural loss" has

created so far neither anomie, an identity problem nor counter acculturative revivals, as far as was observed. This may be true also for other northern people with similar contact history and time depth.

The indigenous effort to project the "good" image of Round Lake to the outside world, and perhaps specifically for this study, was not unexpected. Before the study began, leaders had information about the nature of the project and that their village was to be the focal point. How well their effort toward goodness succeeded, in the sense of concealing or minimizing "bad" things, cannot be known, by definition. We concentrated on observations and examination of the effort itself, including their conception of what is "good". This word was used in English frequently, for example, in their official choice of assistants and interpreters. We gathered that a good person was one who could be relied upon for the "truth" and there was genuine concern that we not be misled by informants who would talk loosely and "just say anything" (make up things) for our consumption. This is indeed one of the hazards of ethnological field work for which some controls have been fashioned -- but so is the danger of having sources channeled by one interest or faction. From the official point of view, our choice of sources went a little out of control before the termination of the field stay and there were indications that official concern over our hearing the truth had not ceased (i.e. there were warnings that we

were listening to the wrong people, a satisfying development). There was no actual interference, however, and we feel confident that we succeeded in deciphering which informants were reliable for which kinds of information. We also learned enough about the language to judge, in most of the important situations, when interpreters might be entering the game in their own right.

A 'good person' is one who is reliable, careful and honest and who works for the welfare of others rather than for their harm. The Ojibwa term 'good man' has the form used also for 'straight' (as in 'straight road') or for 'correct' (as in 'do it correctly'). The moral sense of "good and bad" (good or bad acts) is rendered by different words. The opposite of 'good man' uses the same form as that used in 'crooked road', as elicited from Minnesota Ojibwa; this definition was not obtained at Round Lake. Semantic-linguistic evidence, however, may hold pitfalls unless one knows the language very well. English-speaking informants also used the term "good man" "good boy" or "good girl" to signify that the person had ability and did his job well.

The denial and disvaluing of past traditions may be connected to some extent with projection of the "good image". It is not possible to say, with regard to either of these phenomena, just where the interest in projection ends and personal conviction is present. That is to say, how much of the "agreeing with" is personally believed and how much is motivated more by the belief in good

relations. It is probably safer to say that Round Lakers believe they are, by and large, good people, making allowance for exceptions, especially of particular acts even in one's own past life. Their community appears to the ethnologist also to be remarkably "good" -- showing their success in the projection and probably their belief in it. It is difficult to judge the degree of their rigidity and dependence on this image and also in their judgments about "good" and "bad" behaviors. If a very rigid "head-in-the-sand" attitude accounts for the statements about goodness, the prognosis might not be favorable. However, prolonged observation and experience with Round Lake people revealed a flexibility and pragmatic handling of day-by-day situations which belies their manner of speaking. Perhaps also we absorbed somewhat their practice of basing our expectations on patterns of action rather than on the spoken word.

CHAPTER 16

EDUCATION AND ENCULTURATION

Introduction: The young people are the future -- for Round Lake, for Indians and for Euro-Canadian society as well. What are the children learning at Round Lake today, both in and out of school? And for the immediate future, what new learning is happening to Round Lake adults? Clearly, "education" in the broad sense of total preparation is an important area of investigation because of effects it will have on the coming time of increased contact between the Indians of the North and non-Indian society. This section focuses on the age group now under 21 years of age.

We would like to be able to report a complete picture of the preparation, all that the Round Lake young people have learned in the years so far, from home and their own people and from schools and Euro-Canadian people. Also the manner of learning and of instruction should be known and contrasted. For it is clear that Indian youngsters must have become able to switch codes between their different educational settings and have learned to learn within both the Indian and non-Indian pattern of instruction and knowing. There is a double program all the way through -- in language, in content and in the defining and utilizing of learning situations. If a special study were made of this multi-level code-switching, it would reveal which learning behaviours are appropriate to Indian learning situations and inappropriate to the school and white settings and vice versa. Indian children have to learn this along

with the content of their lessons. The present study did not focus intensively on this problem but we feel that such research would be of value.

Reporting of total preparation is an ideal, but perhaps the observations recorded here will show that there is a great deal learned out of school from both Indians and non-Indians and the amount of Indian culture transmitted within the family or extended kin-group. This is still a major part of the education process for most individuals. Although the education to Euro-Canadian ways may appear to be the important factor for contact situations, it may be that the concurrent learning of Indian ways affects those situations just as strongly. Observation of Round Lake young people, both in their village and outside was especially revealing of their ability to switch codes and also the times when such ability breaks down.

Observation of non-Indians in contact situations was also revealing. For consideration of the outcome of future Indian-Euro-Canadian contact and cooperation, we suggest examination of the society with which Indian youngsters will be dealing in the future. Euro-Canadian youngsters and their preparation are one-half of the picture. The revolution going on with our youth today may or may not alter the world so as to be more unrecognizable than it is already to any person over thirty but it will certainly produce a generation of adults different in many respects from their own parents. These

are the adults who will represent the outside world in the two-way contact situation of the future. Many Indian youngsters are a part of this revolution, of course, but for the isolated northern communities its effects are, at least, somewhat retarded or diluted, especially where the community has been conservative about sending its youth out to school or work. Round Lake is considered a conservative community in this respect. Those students who do go out from such communities are meeting the world of their own age group outside and are learning as much from their peers as from adults. It will be necessary to learn something of that world before we presume to predict its effects on Indians; we may be in a position of knowing more about Indian children than about non-Indian children. For the coming "dialogue with the Indian" this report is one-sided and we only suggest that thought be given to the things Indian children should be learning in order to carry on a dialogue with us 10 or 20 years from now. At least part of this section should have been written by an eighteen-year-old.

Our project, however, was designed to focus on Round Lake only and on the present. The previous sections of the ethnological report have dealt with these aspects of the old culture and of the new which make up the material from which Round Lake youngsters are putting together their knowledge of the world and how to live in it. For the parents' generation, we have attempted to record some of the patchwork of learnings from Indian and outside sources which they

have pieced together during their lives and from which they select the parts they wish to transmit to their children. This section will summarize the differential knowledge and participation of the youngest age group in each of the areas covered in the previous sections.

Formal schooling from Euro-Canadian sources began in Round Lake in 1953. We report here the historical and current facts and figures and as much of the attitudes and effects as were observed, especially with regard to sending children to schools outside. The advantages and disadvantages of white society's academic "education" still weighs somewhat precariously in the minds of the northern bush Indians. Their experience has not shown it to be entirely beneficial or suitable to the needs of the individuals concerned. Nor is it adequate if bush life is to continue. Boys still are learning both the traditional economic pursuits and the new academic skills up to a certain age. They then make a decision between the two and who is to tell them what skills will be needed when they become the heads of families? Those who have gone out and failed to learn the bush life may be the ones who stand to lose. At least it looks this way from the Round Lake position, where many changes have been experienced and successfully incorporated into the present village-plus-bush life but where it is not so easy to see that future changes may be of an even more revolutionary nature. So far, the changes have been of a substitution nature, rather than

structural. The communication gap between generations has been little more than is usual. The time depth of contact with Euro-Canadian society for the people in the Round Lake area is relatively shallow, especially in terms of bi-culturalism. With very few exceptions, only those under 21 years of age have had any Euro-Canadian schooling. This group now contains the only real bilinguals. These young people have not left their own people or traditions (including language) but most of them have an entree to both worlds, which their parents do not have, and this is creating a tension between the generations which may be of a new order. This recency and limited nature of the bi-cultural element in the community is one factor which renders the people of this area different from Indians with a longer acculturation history.

Enculturation and Indian Instruction: Culture is by definition something that is learned from other people and enculturation refers to the learning of the culture and the transmission of cultural knowledge from one generation to the next. This is largely accomplished, in any society, through non-formal methods. The children of Round Lake have been learning the content of both the Indian and some of the Euro-Canadian cultures. In the latter culture, there is a feature called "going to School" which the Indian culture did not have as such. Round Lake parents today are enculturating their children explicitly in the kinds of knowledge they believe to be useful today and based on their own experience.

This may include, of course, the changes they have experienced and thus represent a semi-acculturated situation. It may also exclude certain things felt to be no longer useful or true. Thus Round Lake children are learning from their elders to do something called "going to Church" where varying forms of a "Christian" message are imparted in a public setting. Bibles are also read at home by some families. Certain former "religious" beliefs are not taught to young people since it is believed that they contradict the church teachings and are harmful or bad. Deliberate non-teaching varies by family and extends to the telling or not telling of old stories and legends although this may always have been a specialization. Children who know of the old beliefs regarding 'powers' and magic generally regard these as bad, as described previously. An earlier section has described the differential knowledge of the native religion among Round Lakers in general, including the finding that those under 20 gave a significantly different classification of fauna; the aberrant classifiers were consistent among themselves and included nearly all informants who were both bilingual and under 20 years old, thus indicating interference from the English system they had learned in school. Many of the differences between the older and younger generations which cut off this youngest age group as the most aberrant can of course be accounted for by the positive interference from their schooling rather than a lack of enculturation by their elders. These two

factors, however, reinforced each other. It should be noted that some young bilinguals who had had the schooling did give the traditional classification and terminology. In traditional economic pursuits enculturation and participation are explicitly transmitted to the younger generation, especially males. This applies, however, only to those residing at Round Lake village; there are several young unmarried men who have emigrated out, at least for the present, after going out to school and these probably have not learned the skills of the bush. Generally, it is thought by the Round Lakers to be a good thing for all young men to learn these skills although this again varies by family. Boys learn these occupations by going along with the men, observing and helping, and being provided the materials to try for themselves on a small scale at a fairly young age. There was much evidence that "learning by doing" with a minimum of interference or verbal instruction is the accepted manner of acquiring skill. Similarly, girls learn the women's jobs gradually from childhood; these include domestic chores of carrying water, chopping wood and tending children as well as household jobs involving the need for keeping the family fed, clothed and clean. Some girls are also learning about the preparation of hides and furs, especially those in families which move to the trapline. However, the former duties of women included the manufacture of a number of items, especially clothing, which are now purchased at the store. Moccasins, moosehide

mitten, snowshoes and wooden spoons are still of home manufacture but it was not determined whether young people are being taught to make them. Children learn by observing adults, and "playing" at adult activities, including sex. These activities go over into serious stages gradually, starting quite young, e.g. girls snaring hare.

With regard to residence and social organization, we have already noted that the concept of residence retains some of its "nomadic" aspect and that this still applies to members of all age groups. Only on the question of future residence did the younger age group differ significantly from the others, giving the expectation of moving to a more heavily populated and more modern location rather than remaining in Round Lake or moving further into the bush as was the case for their elders. Although it was stated that young people these days always want a house of their own immediately after marriage, it was found that the custom of residing with parents still continues to operate to some extent. The concept of house may be changing with the younger people and, with the possession of more items of property, in the direction of greater permanence and elaboration (i.e. furniture and decoration). However, young people still showed the urge to leave the house and spend time outside whenever they felt confined. Observation of Round Lake youngsters living or visiting away from the village also showed this tendency.

Regarding kinship organization and terminology, young people

appeared to be somewhat less familiar with the old system than were their parents, although there were notable exceptions. Some have stated that their recent or imminent marriages were not arranged by parents, indicating that others have been so arranged in recent times.

With regard to legal and political organization, young people in Round Lake village are observing the stage of acculturation as described before. Some of them may have a clearer understanding of the system of democratic election of leaders from school instruction than do their elders and their reading in English; however they are also learning the method of unity by consensus and handling of the underlying factionalism as it still operates in this small kinship-based community.

Some of the culture traits just described are transmitted by deliberate instruction, but it can be seen that others are learned by observation and absorption at an unconscious level for the persons concerned. Most behaviour traits and values are learned in the latter manner and their persistence in the young people shows continuing enculturation in Indian culture. Already described are some of the persisting values and behaviours which were observed during the current study. Certain rules of talking behaviour which differ markedly from those of Euro-Canadian society were observed in the behaviour of children of Round Lake. The non-answering of questions or the constant answer "I don't know"

or "nothing" has baffled teachers and the qualified commitment when stating a fact, "maybe" or "I think", continues even in some students who have been out to school for several years. All of the speaking behaviours mentioned were observed in children, especially when there was more than one present. Some could speak very well in English and unhesitatingly when they were visiting alone, yet withdrew into the Indian "shyness" when others were present. This consisted of a group consultation which took place over each English question which was asked of any of them, apparently until a consensus was reached as to the proper reply and who would voice it. The chosen one would then whisper the English response which had been agreed upon. In younger children especially, this appeared to represent a reluctance to speak up or show off in front of others. Older children answered each for himself and only for himself. The value on individual autonomy appeared to be high among teenagers who could be sensitive about "bossiness" from another.

In school and in inter-actions with other non-Indians, children learn some of the Euro-Canadian rules about talking and about talking etiquette ("thank you") and some are able to switch codes according to the setting. Three teenage Round Lake boys who travelled and visited in the United States with the ethnologist were often commended for their politeness, based partly on the appropriate "thank yous"; the odd "thank you" to a vending machine

went unnoticed. They also achieved the feat of answering newspaper reporters' personal and demanding questions without hesitation, although admitting later they didn't like it very much. Their talent for quietness also was applauded -- one of our hostesses described them as having "such dignity and poise as to make us feel like prattling jerks". Their code switching broke down only when they were alone with the ethnologist, a sign she must have seemed like somebody from back home in the midst of all the strange new places and people. Thus most values and behaviour traits described for the community as a whole are seen in the youngest age group. They have been transmitted without deliberate instruction.

The young people have learned a second set of behaviours for use with Euro-Canadians, probably mostly from the school but also in their contacts and visits with non-Indians at Round Lake. While these persons are few in number at any given time, the turnover is great and one feels that Round Lakers have, after all, a rather wide experience with types of individuals from the Euro-Canadian world.

The Round Lake children's knowledge and skill with this second set of behaviours varies considerably and this is not correlated only with age. We probably were best acquainted with a selection of the most skilled, for our acquaintances, visitors and workers, were self-selected for the most part. Those children who sought out interaction in English with a stranger from outside were probably the most skilled and confident, the most curious and of families who allowed freedom for visiting; also, with each contact they increased their ability and thus reinforced the pattern.

Our acquaintance was with one-third to one-half of the children of Round Lake of school age, plus younger tots and babies who accompanied other members of their family. With a smaller number we had constant association and there were 10 or 12 who worked on the project.

The way in which the teenage group differs most from their parents is of course in their knowledge of the English language. This also varied greatly from one individual to the next, although the most noticeable difference probably lay in boldness or shyness about speaking. For all children of Round Lake, English is the second language. Even the handful whose parents know some English do not hear it employed as the home language; generally one parent only is minimally bilingual. Before entering school a few children have learned some English from older siblings but for the most part pre-school children know only the native language. Thus the Indian language is a culture trait still transmitted fully from one generation to the next. This may change with the coming generation, although for those who continue to reside in the north it is perhaps dependent upon the nature of future contact. It is probably safe to say that many families of the next generation will be to some extent bilingual, their weaker language being either English or Ojibwa depending on their individual histories.

Schooling and Euro-Canadian Acculturation: Prior to 1949, there was a class taught in the English language by Philip Sawanis of the Weagamow sub-community. It was held in a building located behind

the Hudson's Bay Company store on the 1949 Round Lake map. A dozen or so students attended, most of them now in their 40's and 50's. Mr. Sawanis was said to have learned his English at Big Trout Lake from the missionary Garrett. This class was apparently held in the summertime, as some of the students were from the Caribou Lake community where they lived during the other seasons.

In 1951-2, before the start of the government school, classes were held by Mr. Isaac Beardy, an immigrant from Bearskin, also chiefly in English. These took place at the Anglican church residence building. Students who attended this class are now in their 20's and 30's.

In 1953 the Indian Affairs government school first started; a building was constructed for it as shown on the 1959 map and on the 1968-70 map it is seen as the smaller school building (the "old school"). This was when Round Lake children began to go to school but at first only during the summers. It had expanded to the teaching of classes up to Grade V by the time the new school was built in 1963, which then extended instruction through Grade VIII. The school is operating to this level at present. A number of Round Lakers cited the school as their reason for building houses in Round Lake village proper. Formerly they had had their dwellings at a greater distance around Weagamow Lake or at North Caribou Lake or Windigo Lake. Some mentioned that when their children became of school age they had decided to make this move. Thus the presence



Children leaving the
Indian Affairs Day School
with report cards on the last day of school



Classroom
Indian Affairs Day School

of the school appears to have been an important factor in the growth of Round Lake as a village centre.

The present school, constructed by Indian Affairs in 1963, has four well-equipped, bright class-rooms; a fifth class-room is located a short distance away in the old one-room school. Children enter the Beginners' class at age five or six and continue through to Grade VIII or to the age of 16.

During each of the school years 1968-9 and 1969-70, there were four teachers resident at Round Lake, occupying two modern teacher's houses built at the same time as the school, and the apartment in the old school. These teachers were non-Indian, from the outside. In addition, at the beginning of 1969 a new position was instituted for a Teacher's Aide. This was filled by a local woman, Miss Janosa Quequish, who had been out to high school through Grade X. She continues to be employed full time, handling the Beginners' class. Another Round Lake girl who has been out to high school, Miss Angela Quequish, is sometimes employed as a substitute teacher. Although the turnover is high relative to that in Southern Ontario schools, teachers tend to stay somewhat longer than in similar communities in the north. In September 1970 two teachers are returning for a second year, one for his third year. Even this limited amount of continuity must be beneficial to the students and the community as a whole.

A school committee made up of parents and teachers provides a

basis for communication between the school and the parents.

Enrolment in the school, Beginners to Grade VIII, was approximately 110 in 1969-70. There is a slight age/grade retardation, the average age in Grade VIII being fourteen years. Two main factors account for this: students starting school do not speak English; some students start school later than is customary in other Ontario schools.

Instruction in the school from Grade I through VIII is in English; the teachers do not speak or understand Ojibwa,¹ the language spoken by the children. Since 1969 the Beginners have been taught by a bilingual Teacher's Aide. The child entering Grade I will thus experience a less abrupt transition from an Ojibwa speaking home to an English speaking school.

The curricula taught in the school and the text books used are the same as those found in Southern Ontario schools. In addition, a class in the Cree Syllabic system adjusted to Round Lake Ojibwa is given to the students of Grades VII and VIII by two Round Lake adults.

The education received in the school is theoretically comparable to that elsewhere in Ontario. However, as will be discussed later, the children leaving the community for high school appear to fall below the average rate of success. Although inadequate academic

1. The Round Lake people refer to their language as Cree. It is, however, a dialect of Ojibwa.

preparation is probably only one of many contributing factors, it is a significant one.

It is not difficult to account for lower standards of attainment. Foremost is the fact that each child must learn English and learn in that language. Outside the school, there is little in the child's environment to augment his academic education. As indicated in Table 3.18 the percentage of parents having formal education is low. The average home does not have books, magazines

Table 3.18
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS: 1970¹

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT: 1970																					
Age Group	No. in Age Group	Day School*								% of Age Group	High School				Former Residents						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		9	10	11	12	9	10	11	12			
5 - 14	111	N. A.									N. A.										
15 - 19	34	4 26								87%	2	2			2						
20 - 29	45**	1	2	2	7	5	10	5	3	7%	2 1				2	1	1				
30 - 39	32**	1 2								0%	1										
40 - 49	29	---Nil---								0%											

and television available for the child. The home is small, crowded and poorly lighted -- not conducive to home study. The way of life

1. *Individuals are shown only in the column of their highest grade achievement. Those enrolled in Correspondence Courses are not included in the High School column.

**Within these two age groups there are approximately 7 individuals whose record is not known, but who probably have some elementary school education.

in the community is foreign to that which he learns about in school. There is thus much less relevance between what he is learning at school and what he needs to live in his particular environment than is true of most school children. Attendance too is a factor contributing to lower achievement. The child is frequently kept at home to cut firewood, carry water or help in other ways about the home. The entire family may move to winter camp; school age children will miss several weeks of school.

Prior to 1968, a child completing Grade VIII and desirous of continuing his education had to leave the settlement. Some high school students attended schools in northern towns such as Dryden and Sioux Lookout, others were sent to Southern Ontario schools. In the 1968-9 school year, and again in the following year, an alternative was available -- the Correspondence School.

There is no official name for this group of students. The name Correspondence School is used here as being the least misleading; in Round Lake it is referred to by some as the Weagamow Junior High School, by others as "the High School". As will be explained later, this is not an official, government operated school.

The development of the school was the result of considerable initiative and effort by parents and the Band Council. It was an answer for those parents convinced of the need for education for their children but desirous of keeping them at home in Round Lake.

Initially, the Chief requested that a high school be built in

the North. At present, the nearest high school is in Sioux Lookout, 200 miles to the south. The physical distance is only part of the problem; parents are perhaps even more conscious of and concerned about the cultural distance. When the request was turned down, an appeal for assistance was made to the Mennonite Northern Lights Gospel Mission in Red Lake. An arrangement was made through the mission to have a volunteer come to live in the community to help students, in a school setting, to complete correspondence courses. The Correspondence Branch of the Department of Education, in consultation with and on behalf of the Department of Indian Affairs, agreed to supply these courses as a temporary solution to the problem.

The Band Council and parents went to some trouble to supply a classroom for this correspondence school. Part of the Council House was partitioned off and furnished with a stove and desks. Parents agreed to supply firewood as needed.

The school then, in reality, is a classroom where students come on a more or less regular basis, following customary school hours and school terms, to work on correspondence courses with the aid of a volunteer tutor. There is no actual teaching done in the classroom. The only connection between the Ontario Department of Education and the school is the service provided by the Correspondence Branch. The role of the Correspondence Branch here as in other parts of Ontario is to provide education to

persons, on an individual basis, who are unable to attend regular provincial or separate schools. The students must enroll on an individual basis directly with the Correspondence Branch.

Table 3.19
ENROLMENT & COURSE COMPLETION: CORRESPONDENCE COURSES

YEAR	No. of Students Enrolled	Average No. of Courses Taken	Total No. of Courses Taken	Total No. completed as of June/70	No. of Students Quitting School
1968-9	9	3	} 63	} 30	2
1969-70	15	3			7

As indicated in Table 3.19, the number of courses successfully completed by the end of June, 1970 is less than half the number initially undertaken. Another five courses were very close to completion; it is probable that the students will complete these. At present all students are taking courses in the Five Year program; these may be too difficult on the basis of the students' academic background. Another difficulty arises from the functioning of the correspondence course system at Round Lake. The typical person taking courses with the Correspondence Branch has a full time job. He takes three courses, and does one lesson per week in each course. The lesson is forwarded to the Branch for marking and correction, then returned to the student. If his work has

been satisfactory, he proceeds with the next lesson; if not, he repeats the lesson. But this is not the case with the Round Lake correspondence student. He completes each week three or four lessons in each subject, working as he does on regular school hours. Before these lessons can be returned to him by the one mail per week, he has already completed several more lessons. If the student has done poorly on the earlier lessons, he is attempting to build on a very weak foundation. A very long and difficult means of getting an education is made even more difficult.

Difficulty with the course content was only one reason for students not completing courses. Various misunderstandings seem to have developed to cause additional drop-outs.

In September, 1969 two of the students from the Correspondence School went out, apparently expecting to enter Grade X. When informed by the high school that they did not have sufficient Grade IX courses and would be required to enroll in Grade IX, they returned to Round Lake. This would suggest that at least some of the students in the Correspondence School believed that a year in their school was equivalent to a year in high school.¹ During the year other misunderstandings and dissatisfaction developed, and by June, eight of the original fifteen students had either quit or were refused entry to the classroom by the tutor. It is perhaps

1. It is not intended to imply that the students were intentionally misled, or that a student could not complete one grade in one year by means of correspondence courses.

indicative of the degree of parental control that of the seven that remained in school, six were girls.

The subject of the Correspondence School had become a rather delicate one in Round Lake by the end of the field work period. It is therefore difficult to determine how the parents would evaluate the success of the experiment. If parents and students expected a year in the Correspondence School to be comparable to a year at high school they must be disappointed. The Correspondence School as it has operated for the two-year period is a compromise, not an alternative to high school, if the goal is a High School Diploma within a four or five year period. Although it is possible to obtain the Ontario Secondary School Diploma (the regular diploma awarded in a high school) by taking correspondence courses, it is a very long and difficult process. At present, the successful students are completing, at the most, three courses per school year; in comparison, the Grade IX student in high school must complete 7 courses. It should be pointed out that it is possible to complete a full grade's work during a year by correspondence courses; the Round Lake students have selected to take three or less.

On the positive side, students have completed courses and have furthered their education. Although those that decide to go out to high school from the Correspondence School may have to repeat the three courses they have taken to complete the requirements of that grade, their chances of success will probably be greater than those

going directly from Grade VIII.

Several important observations may be made from the Correspondence School experiment:

There is a very sincere desire among parents for high school education for their children.

Some parents are facing a dilemma; they wish to keep their children at home but realize that education is necessary if they are to be prepared for a future of change.

The community has demonstrated both initiative and concern in their attempt to find a solution to their dilemma.

Correspondence Courses were not designed for use in a classroom situation.

Two government agencies are involved in planning and presenting courses for adults and courses auxiliary to the Day School. The Indian Affairs Branch, responsible for education on the "Reserves", pays for the courses supplied by the provincial government.

The Youth and Recreation Branch of the Ontario Department of Education initiated a program of adult education in 1967. At that time they introduced courses on a "demand or evident need basis".¹ Courses were given in Homemaking, Woodworking and Power Toboggan Safety and Maintenance. Instructors moved into the community for a week or two week period. Interest and attendance were reportedly good.

The policy of the Branch has changed from that of determining

1. Correspondence - R. Lavack, District Consultant, Youth and Recreation Branch.

and fulfilling a need to one of "involving the people in a process that will make them evaluate their recreation, educational, social and economic development and to assist them in planning for a change if this is their decision".¹ In line with this new policy, a Communicator Program was initiated in the spring of 1970. The role of the Communicator, a college or university student of Indian ancestry, is to act as a liason between the Indian community and Euro-Canadian society, to help to bridge the "cross-cultural communications gap".² This program has been in operation for too short a period to have much observable effect, but it seems to have potential for filling a need in the community. It is doubtful that there is any resident of Round Lake that is sufficiently bi-cultural to take on this job at present.

Evening courses have been provided in English, Homemaking, Mathematics, Handicrafts and Art. With the exception of the latter two, these classes are given by the teachers of the Day School. Considerable interest has been shown in these classes. It is obvious that the adults do not feel education is only for the young. The Art classes were given by visiting artists both as part of the school curricula and, in the evening, to any person interested in attending.

1. Correspondence - R. Lavack, District Consultant, Youth and Recreation Branch.

2. Communicator Program - R. Lavack.

The Ontario Department of Mines, in co-operation with the Indian Affairs Branch has given an elementary course in prospecting and mineral recognition. This five day course was offered at Round Lake in 1968. As with other courses, it was enthusiastically received and well attended.

In summary, a variety of educational courses has been offered at Round Lake in the past few years. The response has been enthusiastic and reveals a desire for education among the adult population.

Several students have gone out to high school in the past few years. Table 3.18 indicates that eight individuals, now residents in the community, have completed some high school; another half dozen have also gone out to high school but were not resident in the community during the period of field work. They have married and moved away or found work outside.

As indicated in Table 3.20 the rate of success in High School is not high. Loneliness and low level of achievement are probably the two main reasons for students quitting High School and returning home. The first is readily understandable; the second is more complex. In comparison to his classmates in High School, the Round Lake student is at a serious disadvantage. He has less facility with the language of instruction; he has a much more restricted knowledge and experience of Canadian life and society; he is living away from his family and is separated from his childhood friends. For most Round Lake Grade IX students, it is the first time

that they have been in a town, seen a car, lived in a home with electricity and television. The student is thus not only required to learn the body of material presented in school but must absorb a good deal of knowledge that his fellow students have been acquiring since early childhood.

One of the students that had successfully completed some high school claimed that there were two things that made High School much easier for her: going out early and going out with someone from home. She went out to school at the Grade V level, with three or four other students from Round Lake. Support is given to her opinion when it is noted that of the 14 that have completed some High School at least five were out for some schooling prior to entering High School. Of the three that have successfully completed the school year in 1970, two were brother and sister attending the same school.

From Table 3.18 it is obvious that the level of academic attainment in the community is low. This is readily understandable when it is remembered that the first school was built in 1953. The first students in that school would now be in their early twenties. It will be "some years" before the level of formal education is comparable to that of Euro-Canadian society.

The lack of formal education presents little difficulty at the present time for those Round Lake people wishing to live in the north. There are few opportunities for employment in the settlement

which require academic education; the traditional occupations do not depend for success on formal school learning. Of those that have completed some high school and are not at present continuing their schooling, three have jobs in Round Lake which require some degree of biculturalism and academic education.

Table 3.20
STUDENTS OUT TO HIGH SCHOOL: 1968-70¹

Grade	1968 - 69		1969 - 70	
	Number Enrolled	Number Completing	Number Enrolled	Number Completing
9	3	2	6	1
10	1*	1	2	2
11	1	1	Nil	Nil
12	Nil	Nil	1*	Nil

Summary: This section has thrown several lights on the youngest age group at Round Lake, those under 21 at the time of study. They showed most continuity with the adult community in their learning of and participation in economic and technological activities, in the learning and use of the Ojibwa language and especially in manifesting certain behavior traits and values. They diverged somewhat with respect to knowledge of and adherence to the old belief system, including the old traditional legends, and with respect to traditional rules and kinship of marriage. They differed most in

1. *These students are no longer classified as Round Lake residents as they are working outside.

their degree of bilingualism and biculturalism and their familiarity with patterns of the Euro-Canadian world but which most of them had never seen first hand. This means that they have digested both their parents' teachings and that of the Euro-Canadian school plus their other contacts through incoming persons, radio and reading material and out-of-school visiting. Since the latter influences are largely dependent upon an understanding of the English language, the bilingual aspect seems central and it was learned at an early age in the school.

The school began at Round Lake just fifteen years before the start of the Round Lake project and we feel that this is the decisive element for the cultural cutoff of the age group in question. The generation just reaching maturity is the first who have been exposed to the English language and other Euro-Canadian matters and models consistently until age 15 or more and from them now comes the first real threat of discontinuity.

Of course, during the same period, Euro-Canadian influence increased rapidly in the village itself and all ages of people have been affected to varying degrees. Also the fact of village life, as it gradually replaces a semi-nomadic residential pattern, has caused a number of changes so that the young people are growing up in a social and physical environment different than even twenty years ago.

The cultural cutoff at about age 21 is notable but it is not

the kind of cutoff that would have occurred if the children had gone away to the teachers' world for their schooling. Continuity has been maintained by the fact of their living at home and learning most sets of patterns (Euro-Canadian and Indian) simultaneously, with the Indian side dominant, of course. They have thus been almost equally exposed with their elders to the local changes occurring, almost, but their English as well as their age render them much more receptive. A gulf between generations is developing. Although not yet severe, it would be widened if the children go out to High School. Thus the dilemma faced by parents.

The "progressive" attitude of Round Lakers in their accommodation to the modern world might be viewed as an effort to keep up with the young people in order to keep them at home.

CHAPTER 17

A DECADE OF CHANGE

We will now approach an overview of changes and future prospects for the people of Round Lake by taking a glance first at the past -- specifically at the period ten years ago. This report has referred frequently to the observations of Rogers when he and his family lived at Round Lake for a year in 1958-59. At that time, 1970 was the future. In comparison, our observations of different aspects of life at Round Lake have shown some specific and graphic changes, which may or may not have been anticipated from the vantage point of ten years ago. One of the most salient differences is that the school had been in Round Lake for only five years, at that time, and today's 20-year olds were then 10. There were virtually no bicultural or truly bilingual individuals. This is a change that could be anticipated and although its ramifications may not have been apparent to everyone, we have in Chief Saul Keeash's Recollections a statement which points up its importance: "Some children started to learn the white people's language."

There are other more general themes which differ between the 1958-9 and the 1968-70 period. These may be partially due to differing bias and selectivity on the part of the observers, a factor which can be totally controlled only in the ideal, never in actual ethnographic work. We feel that they may also represent some types of changes that were not very clearly indicated in 1959 and

might not have been predictable in Round Lake at that time.

One such theme is the question of cooperation, cohesion, group enterprises and centralization of authority. This constellation can be contrasted with individualism, splintering, lack of agreement or consensus and a seeming disregard or avoidance of large scale rules and laws and leadership. The contrast has often been made, in fact, about Ojibwa culture. While the present study reported some evidence of the latter characteristics, particularly in pointing out persistence of traditional patterns, we have also noted the areas where Round Lake life today runs counter to this theme. These will become clearer perhaps when seen from the 1959 view. With regard to the economic activities, for example, Rogers reported "there was little economic cooperation" and in commercial fishing activities "no more than two or three men acting together". Today, the fishing business has become a definite group enterprise and Round Lake citizens have shown their adaptability to this pattern sufficiently to carry it out. The Fishery Co-Op and the Indian Co-Op store do operate and their management expresses the ideal that the community should work together for everyone's improvement. Whatever other factors are motivating the actual behaviour and the not always-harmonious crisis are another matter.¹

1. Of course the cooperative idea fits better the old belief system than does free enterprise competition which rests upon the accepted principle that one man may work to advance himself while contributing a service to the community.

In discussing the extent of the Chief's power and the roles of the other elected leaders, we found too that this had changed in the direction of centralization and recognition of need for "public" laws affecting everyone. The question of public enforcement is still side-stepped, at least verbally, but everyone knows it is ultimately there. Of course this is partly a function of the recognition of Euro-Canadian political and police control. But if such outside control is recognized by the people, its local channels (Chief and councillors) cannot fail to exercise a certain real power, whether or not people's outward demeanour gives outward confirmation of it.

The growing civic cohesion and organizational tendencies are probably also a function of the growing confrontation in village-type social life and residence patterns. Thus in addition to the Chief's power as sanctioned from outside, there is development of the phenomenon of village wide activities and projects requiring organization and consensus and working together. A community "cleanup campaign" is, for example, a relatively recent need. In a village there are public territories which affect everyone. Traffic laws and safety measures affect everybody. These require leadership and a willingness to conform to its suggestions. The leadership in Round Lake at the present time may be especially skilled in bringing about this type of change. But also, the change of residence pattern itself would require an increase of cohesion and public spiritedness one way or another. From the view of 1959,

one might have predicted a splintering of the village community. That is probably still possible but it looks more and more as if people at Round Lake are choosing to alter their individualistic ways to sustain the felt advantages of village life. The youngest age group ought to be a reinforcing factor, if they apply that part of their "double education" which was learned in school.

Last, in the matter of education itself, we have seen Round Lake people take the initiative to carry out a community project themselves, not inspired by the expectations of the Euro-Canadian government nor by fear of the outside force, except in an indirect way. The Correspondence High School could not have been initiated without outside help, but it was in response to internal needs and ideas as to what would be best for the community and for the people who live there. Results show that parents responded to the Chief's leadership by putting into execution this attempt to solve the education dilemma for those who did not feel ready to leave the village.

These are examples of a small number of changes, not overwhelming revisions, as a reading of the full report will have shown. It is the direction of change that seems significant. There is no guarantee that the direction will continue constant; there are many factors which could upset it -- both internal and external events. We feel that this trend toward modernization of some basic patterns, reported as of June 1970 may provide one basis for assessing the prospect of Indian communities such as Round Lake.

CHAPTER 18

THE FUTURE

Round Lake View: On the Indian side, the future will be formed to some extent by the kind of preparation that is going on today -- both of children and of adults. Conversely, the kind of preparation taking place today, and especially the resolution of the dilemma over old versus new types of education, is being influenced by Round Lakers' view of the future and their desires and felt needs for the coming time. Round Lakers' view of the future was revealed in part through some of the activities observed in the village during the two years ending in June 1970.

First, leaders and many of the people appear concerned over the future of the community as such. In addition, individuals wish to insure their own success in dealing with changing conditions and creating a satisfactory life for themselves and for their families. And, they desire to retain their present integrity and degree of independence -- as a community, as domestic units and as Indians. There is natural apprehension concerning the possible breakdown of cohesion at all of these levels. They are not blind to what has happened in the lives of some other Indians and Indian communities. But this has not resulted in apathy or resignation at Round Lake; rather, a good deal of energy and determination is mixed with a certain amount of optimism regarding their own abilities and prospects, as far as could be detected. And they know that the crux of their long-range achievement -- and perhaps survival



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Mrs. J. QUEQUISH

-- lies with the fate of the children now growing up among them. They recognize the particular position of the youngest age group who attend Euro-Canadian schools and learn the English language, while remaining essentially "Indian". In short, they do not underestimate the importance of education -- in the academic or the wider sense.

In speaking of education, it is a truism by now to ask, "Education for what?" For Indians of the northern bush country, this is a rather difficult question to answer. They are, of course, asking it themselves. What will their children's adult lives consist of? What things should their children be learning? To the extent that they can control the outcome and also the process, they wish to do so. At least this is true of many. Already their children are learning two languages and acquiring manners, tastes, ideas,¹ knowledge and aspirations that are largely foreign to them. A communication gap is developing and more and more it is evident that control is passing out of their hands. We wish to emphasize that at Round Lake this has occurred almost exclusively with the current younger generation in terms of schooling, language acquisition and early familiarity with the outside world which amounts almost

1. e.g. ideas about marriage and residence: if parents can no longer arrange marriages, they have lost an important area of control over the future.

to bi-culturalism. That is why a previous section was focussed on the age group under 21. It is from them that the first real threat of non-continuity is coming today. And it is to this age group that the apparent choice between modern and bush life presents itself rather starkly and at a tender age. We feel that it is the hope of many at Round Lake that the choice may not be so stark, that modern life will continue to come to Round Lake -- bringing jobs and education too -- and in addition that the life and livelihood from the bush will not cease for those who wish to pursue it.

In the meantime, are the fathers who keep their sons from further formal education in order that they learn the skills of the bush acting blindly? Or are the fathers acting blindly who fail to teach their children the local skills in favor of sending them off to learn to cope at firsthand with the Euro-Canadian society? There are young Round Lake people today for whom the choice has already been made, on both sides, but it is too soon to judge the results. It is hoped that the Round Lake Study has contributed toward answering that question, with some information about the future of village versus bush life so it will be known whether both paths into the future are truly open.¹

It is not possible to find an answer from within Round Lake or based purely on knowledge of how things have gone in the past.

1. The biological reports give an answer as to the future of bush life from the point of view of the renewable natural resources but not from the Indians' view of its desirability.

Parents and community leaders are doing their best with what data they have at hand. Some expressed the fear that if their children went out to school they might not come back or would return unfit for the life at home. This seems well-founded and based on their experiences and observations. Yet Round Lake has so far no members with sufficient training and education to act as interpreters of Euro-Canadian governmental or commercial actions and policies -- to act as intermediaries or "brokers" with equal understanding of the two worlds.

Two or three positions were initiated in the village during the period of the study, which do begin to demonstrate this need, and were filled by Round Lake young people at the upper end of our youngest age-group who had had some outside experience and schooling. There are the teachers' aide, substitute teacher, nursing station interpreter and Chief's secretary jobs. None of the incumbents has completed high school, although their academic achievements and skills were the greatest available; all have acquired the kind of biculturalism described above. These two qualifications were needed and if the jobs command Round Lake respect (which it appears they do) it may demonstrate to the people that academic as well as trade skills are going to be needed and rewarded in a well-rounded and viable community. Such a community is what Round Lake people appear to desire. Parents' fears that their children will emigrate reflect their value on cohesion and continuity of both the community

and the family.

Members of the young parent generation (20-40) are not totally laggard in closing the gap from their side or in preparing themselves for modern roles in the community. There is a good deal of English understood and spoken when necessary in this age group -- more than appears at first glance. The younger end had the initial Round Lake schooling and a small minority has had schooling outside (immigrants to Round Lake, with one exception). Members of the managerial staffs of the stores, fishery and sawmill have taken some courses for special skills such as bookkeeping. A number of men have held jobs outside, especially Pickle-Crow and Red Lake, for periods of time in the past and returned to Round Lake to raise their families. These form the core of Round Lake adults who sign on for courses offered by the Provincial Department of Education. For the most part, their children are not yet of high school age; it will be interesting to see whether these parents will choose to send their children out to continue their education. This decision, however, appears to relate to the prevailing temper of the times and to recent experience and observation, as much as to the "progressive" versus "conservative" type of parent or according to past record. Within families, some children have gone out, later siblings have not or vice versa. In a small community, a very few examples of successful or negative experience can probably count heavily. Also, the capabilities or inclinations of individual children may be a

deciding factor.

The fact of the "correspondence high school" experiment during the period of the study, shows a rather strong motivation of parents and leaders. Considerable effort was expended by villagers to put into operation an arrangement whereby some high school instruction and credit could be provided for young people who remained at home after completing the Indian Affairs day school through Grade VIII. The Chief was instrumental in making arrangements and in setting up this classroom, physically in the Council Hall, and parents provided the firewood and definite support. It was in a sense a community project, organized and executed with some success and could be cited as evidence of Indian aptitude at carrying out a program which fits with their own ideas and is dependent upon their own decisions and work contributions. The degree to which it fell short was due, we feel, to the bunglings of non-Indian outsiders and to factors beyond the control of the Round Lake people. It demonstrated their positive interest in the young people, in education and in the future and also a tendency to take direct action in matters where words have produced no results. The question of having high school instruction for Indians in the north had been raised with appropriate government personnel and no satisfaction received. The desire to extend their educational opportunities, yet keep their community and homes intact, appears to be a persistent objective and reasonable from the Round Lake

point of view.

Outside View: Whether education and the culture as envisaged from the Round Lakers' point of view is reasonable or feasible from the outside view depends on factors largely beyond the control or knowledge of Round Lake people. It is not certain that there will be an economic base for the support of viable communities in the area. Trapping and fishing as carried out at present are not sufficient to maintain the improved material conditions that Round Lakers have come to know, yet the "education" to these and other Euro-Canadian ideas cannot be reversed or erased. The choice between forced emigration or a return to marginal subsistence living would be no choice at all. The assimilation of these northern Indians into the Euro-Canadian society -- or even into the sub-culture of Indians in the south -- will hopefully be gradual.

In the meantime, there is the matter of their educational arrangements and reactions. The young people will not call a moratorium in the growing up process, waiting for more favorable conditions. They appear to be caught in the middle, at just the period when their people wish to "modernize" but are not ready for the order of change which would split the generations asunder. If there is time allowed on both sides, it could be the children of this youngest age-group who might less painfully complete the transition. The patience and preference of the young people themselves is hard to calculate or predict. They are not short on

talent or natural ability, over the full range of intellectual, social, mechanical and artistic skills. That much seems certain. They appear to be perched in a rather precarious balance, eager for the future yet apprehensive, both bold and timid, open and closed, ready yet retreating.

Which way it will go is probably not to be decided by any one factor or influence. Some will go out to high school and if they make it through will probably get acculturated by other Indians on the outside. For those who remain or return, and for all ages of people, the kind of schooling provided in the north could be important to the balance just mentioned. It would seem that the north presents a special case for Indian education and would be a place to break out of the mold and try some novel measures, both in presentation and in content. Some are already in progress. The travelling artists who spend 1-2 weeks instructing in each of several settlements have had considerable effect, and at least at Round Lake, an impressive turnout of adults as well as children. Teachers who specialize in other subjects might do likewise, perhaps at the high school level, using existing school facilities and supervision and incorporating a correspondence course plus travelling tutor idea.

On the other hand, placing initiative and responsibility in the hands of the community itself has shown positive results and might turn up a new type of school or, at least, courses in Advanced Trapping or Design of Moosehide Clothing for Rich American Hippies --

and surely some not yet dreamed of in the English language. Classes in Cree syllabics are already taught in the Round Lake School.

Indians are not devoid of ideas and have been oversold on the notion that the non-Indians' inventions are always superior -- including classroom type of instruction itself.¹

We feel that it is not only in education that the Indians of the small bush communities are a special case. Some northern Indian leaders have felt that a special or separate Indian policy for the north would make sense, in essence, suggesting a slower change from existing policies which they are only recently learning to live with and gain the advantage therefrom. This accords with our observation that their history does not yet replicate the experience of larger Indian centers or of Indians in the south. Their stage of reaction to forced contact with the larger non-Indian society might be seen as lagging behind in a manner which may be advantageous to them, if they could skip, somehow over, the stages of demoralization, bitterness and counter acculturative excesses which they have not

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1. If their training in precise memory for orientation in any setting could be taught by them to non-Indian children somehow, we might have less trouble in the future in finding our cars in parking lots, getting lost in the maze of unfamiliar city streets or freeway interchanges or in locating misplaced articles. It was noted with some surprise in California that the Round Lake boys' unfailling system of information storage and retrieval in these matters transferred easily to new material and urban settings. Or we might dispense with some of our superfluous record-keeping and list-making; for if Indians know one thing it is the historical fact that the Creator gave the non-Indians writing because the Indians had received the whole supply of memory. This is a widespread "legend" told by Indians.

yet known. This is probably a vain hope and a situation which no one can control and no doubt already much further advanced than appeared on the surface. If bitterness is there at Round Lake, it is still hidden but one feels that it may be outweighed by positive factors. Round Lakers' direction is forward and positive, from all appearances, and its momentum considerable. If its optimism can be kept from changing to disillusionment, it might turn out a real success story -- though the present balance is likely very fragile indeed and the optimism based somewhat on false hope.

Round Lake had a reputation as a prime non-trouble-spot among communities in the area, which was one of the reasons for its being an especially interesting subject of study. Also its reputation is that it is conservative regarding sending its members out but progressive at home, with the local community pretty well under control. There has been no drinking problem nor teen-age gangs -- as yet. It turned out to be not so "goody-goody" as some of its citizens would have us believe and certainly not lacking in the "Indian" characteristics which often turn reversals into run-away systems. But still it is a remarkably "good place" with some remarkably "good people". If this report can have pinpointed any of the reasons for its reputation, its secret of success, this would be, we feel, an important contribution.

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